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Book Review Editor

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PACIFIC STUDIES

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NATIVES AND SETTLERS ON THE NEW HEBRIDES FRONTIER 1870-1900

by Roger C. Thompson

In 1870 European settlers were arriving in the New Hebrides Islands (modern day Vanuatu) with high hopes of emulating the cotton economy of neighbouring Fiji, which was booming under the impact of a world-wide shortage of cotton following the American Civil War. They were not, however, the first Europeans to have close contact with the natives of the two islands, Efate and Tanna, on which they were establishing their plantations. During the previous three decades Australians had been stripping these islands of sandalwood, and when local supplies had been exhausted they had used the Efatese and Tannese as labourers on other sandalwood islands.¹ Consequently, with the added influence in the 1870s of an emerging labour trade with Queensland and Fiji, the islanders were already familiar with European trading ways and addicted to a wide range of European goods. A Queensland labour trader saw on Tanna in 1870 "every man with a musket over his shoulder," and the following year John Bates Thurston from Fiji found himself trading at Efate with "English speaking natives . . . as sharp as Jews of the Ratcliffe Highway."²

The receptions given to the planters by the two sets of islanders, however, were markedly different. In 1869 visiting missionary John Geddie reported that James Smith, owner of one of two flourishing plantations on the west coast of Tanna, was a worried man because his Efatese labourers had deserted him in favour of the other plantation, leaving him "defenceless among a savage people who have little regard for life and property." Indeed, a few days after Geddie's visit the battered body of Smith's only white employee "was cut up and sent to different parts of the island."³ Two years later the planters on Tanna were, according to one report: "living in a state of most unpleasant suspense as the natives may shoot them any day. They have already killed three for which they have

not been punished, and it is more than likely they will do more damage soon."⁴

By 1873 the only European planters left on the island were the wily labour trader Donald Macleod and the notorious Ross Lewin, who always wore pistols at his belt and surrounded his residence with savage dogs and an armed Efatese bodyguard. However, despite Lewin's precautions, the following year he shared the fate of six murdered colleagues, and Macleod prudently decided to leave the island to the militant Tannese.⁵

On Efate, no such violent opposition was suffered by the cotton planters who by 1873 had migrated to the Havannah Harbour district, and built up a community of 31 mostly British settlers and a missionary family.⁶ No European was killed on the island after the arrival of the first planters in 1867. Typical of the peaceful inter-racial relations was the settlers' ability in 1873 to organize the local tribesmen to welcome visiting British Naval Commander Thomas Suckling. "It all looked very imposing," wrote the young store-keeper, William Craddock, "as all the Englishmen and others walked this long double row of natives all armed with spears, tomahawks and bows and arrows." The natives thereupon feasted and then entertained the Europeans with "running, jumping in sacks, [and] three legged races." Best of all was the climbing of the greasy pole, after which each was rewarded with "a glass of grog and two sticks of tobacco, with extra for the chiefs."⁷

One explanation for the violence on Tanna was suggested by Geddie who thought that the planters' land purchases were not "properly understood by the natives."⁸ But there were two sides to those transactions. It was later asserted that the land around Black Beach was so frequently sold by the Tannese "that if all the titles to the landing [place] . . . were in existence, one could build a causeway with them from Tanna to Erromanga."⁹ Captain Markham of the British Navy carried out a more thorough investigation and concluded that the victims themselves were "the principal aggressors; and are thus the cause of these atrocities."¹⁰ Certainly this contention is supported by the characters of some of the settlers, such as copra trader Thomas Davis, whom Craddock called "a thorough scoundrel, cruel and vindictive."¹¹ But there was probably also an indigenous ingredient in Tannese ferocity towards those Europeans who intruded beyond the limits of a convenient coastal trading station. E. A. Campbell who spent some months there in 1872 wrote:

The Tanamen have a great name as warriors—sometimes it is said that they are the most warlike people in the South Pacific. This may be true, for it is a fact that they are much broken up into small tribes, which are continually at war with each other.¹²

As Cook had observed a century previously, this constant state of warfare probably made the Tannese "jealous of every new face."¹³ Indeed, other Melanesian regions notable for violent indigenous reactions to Europeans, such as Malaita in the Solomons, also experienced much precontact internal warfare.¹⁴

This inter-tribal warfare appears to be the main attribute of the Tannese environment not present on Efate, where by and large the tribes co-existed peacefully. Nevertheless, to the settlers at Havannah Harbour the Efatese were objects of fear as well as of fascination and limited fraternization. Craddock enjoyed listening at night to their "weird and wild" music, and he gained amusement from "watching the Niggers trying to catch the fowls, about a dozen after one poor unfortunate creature." But like his compatriots in contemporary Fiji, he could not free his mind of the fear of some mass uprising. "It is a wonder to me a regular raid for trade has not been made before now," he wrote early in his stay in the settlement. Two months later, when the armed Efatese lined up to greet Commander Suckling he thought "what an opportunity it would be to them to knock us all [on] the head if it was not for the fear of that little gunboat out in the bay."¹⁵ The sporting events of that day of festivity smacked of the white master class rewarding with largesse their helots who entertained them. But such an image is illusory. As in other small Pacific beach communities where few white women were in residence—there were only three at Havannah Harbour in 1873—sexual relations were less elitist. Macdonald complained in 1874 of "the immoral relations which some of [the settlers] . . . have with native women."¹⁶ One, John Young, said a visitor in 1878, lived with "a Solomon Islands woman . . . who rules him with a rod of iron."¹⁷

Exploitation was not a one-sided feature of race relations on Efate. The natives parted with their land for as little as three pence an acre for trade goods, like munitions, tools, tobacco and calico, whereas some of the original purchasers re-sold it for as much as seven shillings and sixpence per acre.¹⁸ But the Efatese had no compunction in stealing the possessions of the Europeans, forcing Craddock to be "doubly careful in locking the store. Even the missionary suffered," he wrote, "on the day some natives sold Macdonald's stolen pumpkins."¹⁹ And like their cousins in other parts of Melanesia they refused to subject themselves to the regimen of plantation labour on their own island.

By 1874, however, the bubble of economic prosperity at Havannah Harbour had burst because of plummeting world cotton prices. The planters had turned to maize and the number of resident Europeans had been almost halved. The following year the most substantial settler, Ben-

jamin Hebblewhite, declared that the loss he had made had swallowed up the profits from his store.²⁰ By 1876 there were a mere ten settlers left on Efate plus two missionaries and their families.²¹

New life was breathed into the European settlement on Efate in 1877 with the arrival of some refugees from the new colonial regime in Fiji. Dreams of revived plantations growing coffee or sugar, and visions of sheep and cattle stations were spurring on new efforts to re-build the ailing Havannah Harbour community.²² However, on Tanna early in 1877 the sole copra trader was killed after confronting a native stealing his coconuts. For a short time only a couple of Presbyterian missionaries were left to carry on the uphill struggle of altering the local people's disdainful rejection of European customs and mores—exemplified by their refusal to cover the penis-sheath, their sole item of male attire, which disgusted so many Europeans who saw it.²³ Two new copra traders arrived by the end of 1877 to cater for the needs created on Tanna by the introduction of European goods. But apart from a couple of families on Aneityum who were engaged in whaling, and the planters on Efate, the only other European settlers in the group, there were less than a dozen copra traders living in the islands to the north of Efate.

Before the 1870s many areas in these northern islands still had never been visited by white men, unlike the southern region of the group which had been the centre of both the sandalwood trade and the work of the Presbyterian mission. For example, on Ambrym in 1872 the local people greeted F. A. Campbell and his companion "with much curiosity, feeling our arms and shouting with surprise." Nevertheless, Campbell discovered that, "tobacco is good trade on most islands," an indication of the extensive circulation of goods introduced by the sandalwood traders, and lately labour traders.²⁴ By 1877 the overseas labour trade had greatly increased the extent of European influence in the New Hebrides. On a tour of the group in 1877 Leo Layard, son of the British consul in Noumea, found at all his fourteen landing places returned labourers "who could speak English."²⁵ The now widespread introduction of European goods meant that islanders generally welcomed the prospect of a resident white trader coming to live with them to provide a steady supply of the new luxuries such as knives, tobacco and firearms that were rapidly becoming the necessities of daily life. This was the experience of two American copra traders, Chiffin and Johnston, who settled at Longana on coconut-rich Aoba in 1876. A visitor that year wrote:

The natives up to the present have treated them with the greatest kindness. The chiefs have given instructions to the people to

supply them with food gratuitously, and they voluntarily work without remuneration, receiving payment only for the nuts of which there is an inexhaustable supply.²⁶

Indeed, the Aobamen, who reportedly attacked the crews of labour trade-ships for no other reason than to roast and eat them, had even made Johnston "a chief among them," said another visitor in 1877.²⁷ But early in 1880 they killed him in retaliation for the arrest of one of their number by a British warship, which in turn was avenging their descent on the boat crew of a labour vessel.²⁸

The cycle of violence that killed Johnston illustrates the dangerous environment in the northern islands for copra traders who ventured there in the late 1870s, unlike Efate where Layard reported: "a white man is now perfectly safe on any part of this island."²⁹ One who sought to tame this hostile environment, William Giles, had established himself on the island of Mai late in 1878 in partnership with a fellow Australian. Inspired by visions of a coconut plantation and market garden for the Noumea market, and helped by some returned Queensland labourers, they put up a dwelling house, store and sleeping quarters, and cleared and fenced sixteen acres. Giles was zealous to "civilize" the natives, but after eight months he was convinced that "it is almost, if not quite a hopeless attempt to ever civilize them in the true meaning of the word."³⁰ And when malaria, time, and expired contracts had reduced his establishment to just himself and two labourers, all also weakened by fever, Giles reported:

The natives of the island began to get very bold [and] seeing how helpless we were daily they came down and stole things and poisoned my two kangaroo dogs and one day they set fire to and burned two of my houses. Finally they broke into my store and plundered it of nearly everything.³¹

The defeated Giles, rescued by a native mission teacher, joined his brother to start a new career at Havannah Harbour.

Unfortunately, Havannah Harbour was no healthy place for European settlers in the late 1870s. Though the natives left them in peace, the *anopheles* mosquitoes did not. "The whites are ill either with fever and ague, or dysentery," reported a labour trade government agent at Havannah Harbour in 1878.³² This sickness combined with two disastrous hurricanes, which flattened settlers' houses, and a prolonged drought, which ruined their crops, had driven nearly all the planters away by the time the Giles brothers arrived in 1879; and soon these two left when one succumbed to

malaria.³³ In 1880 a traveller found only a couple of traders living at the harbour running two stores, mere "tumble-down shanties" stocked mainly with "cheap liquors and rusty old rifles."³⁴ Only two planters had survived in the district, significantly on the less malaria infested high ground behind Undine Bay and at the southwestern end of the harbour.

In the 1870s, therefore, the European plantation economy had failed to take root in the New Hebrides; even resident traders obtained only a precarious foothold. This was not a unique phenomenon in Melanesia. In this decade European settlement in the Solomon Islands was slight, and in the Bismarck Archipelago the first German traders were also defeated in the 1870s by a combination of native hostility and malaria.³⁵ The bulk of the Melanesian region with its malaria-carrying mosquitoes and warlike inhabitants was one of the most inhospitable environments in the world for the thrust of European economic expansion that was growing apace in this decade. Together with unusually ferocious hurricanes and prolonged drought, indigenous inhospitality was overwhelming in the New Hebrides.

In 1882 Captain Cyprian Bridge, however, found yet another new handful of planters at Havannah Harbour. More significant, at Vila on the other side of Efate, was a show-piece plantation started two years previously by a Frenchman, Ferdinand Chevillard, "a man apparently of superior social position . . . highly educated." In all, Bridge counted twenty-three non-missionary settlers on the island, who with traders on other islands had rebuilt the settler population in the group to its level of 1873. As well, there were ten Presbyterian missionaries and their wives on islands as far north as Epi, and a Melanesian mission representative on Aoba.³⁶

Bridge gave a generally favorable report on relations between settlers and New Hebrideans. "In every case the traders of British nationality expressed themselves satisfied with the behaviour of the natives near them; and as far as a visitor could judge, they were on friendly terms with them," he wrote. In fact, he was "rather agreeably surprised" by what he saw of "the bearing and general behaviour of the traders," observing: "As a rule they are considerate to their savage neighbours and of use to them, lending them their boats to go on distant trading expeditions and administering medicines to the sick."³⁷

In a special investigation Bridge concluded that land sales between settlers and natives seemed to have been conducted with reasonable fairness to both parties. At times it had been difficult to discern who were the real native owners, for other claimants emerged now and then after a sale concluded. The law of might prevailed. The purchaser responded according to his estimation of the ability of the new claimants to prevent his

occupation. Such was the natives' preponderant power, settlers in these situations usually ended up paying twice for their land. Nevertheless, Bridge maintained:

Missionaries and settlers who have been willing to reply to inquiries are unanimous in asserting that there is nothing repugnant to native custom and native ideas in the complete alienation by sale of land. . . . Occasionally there has been difficulty in getting the natives to understand the real nature of an out-and-out sale of land and its alienation in perpetuity. But when the principle has been comprehended all informants agree that it is respected even when the purchaser ceases to occupy the land acquired.³⁸

This assertion is at odds with the known difficulty in persuading Melanese in other areas such as Fiji, New Caledonia and New Guinea, of the European concept of permanent alienation of land. In fact, Bridge's informants were wrong about "native custom," their opinion being influenced by the long acquaintance that the sellers had had with European commercial practices, for practically all the land sales to 1882 had been on the southern islands where there had been frequent trading contacts with Europeans since the 1840s. Indeed, the Efatese by the 1880s understood "the value of European money sufficiently to distinguish between a franc and a shilling," and were willing at times to sell land for purely monetary reward.³⁹ So at least on Efate by 1882 traditional native attitudes had changed to the extent of ready acceptance of European concepts of property, a fact also supported by the later absence of controversy about European land claims on that island.

Bridge, however, admitted one qualification to his favourable picture of race relations: "Everybody, traders and natives, is on highest behaviour when the Man-of-war is in the neighborhood, so there ought to be no haste in drawing conclusions."⁴⁰ This caution was justified, for from 1882 to July 1886 no less than thirteen resident traders in the New Hebrides were killed by natives, more than the total number of copra traders living there at the beginning of the period. As in the days of the sandalwood trade, reasons for this New Hebridean ferocity were diverse, ranging, according to investigations by European Naval officers, from "killed for continually ravishing native women" to "murdered for plunder."⁴¹ Some were ruffians who deserved their fates, such as Peter Cullen, for whom the Tolman islanders of southern Malekula lay in wait in revenge for previous havoc he had wreaked among them. Less so Edward McEwan on Epi, who was reported to be "a quiet, inoffensive man" whose presence

was valued by the tribe he served. But that value made him a target for his tribe's enemies.⁴² However, while there is no reason to doubt the suggested reasons for these two murders, it is hard to establish any generalisation about what motives predominated for all of them, both because of the variety of explanations in the cases investigated and the warning given later in the century by one such investigator:

It is very difficult in the group to obtain reliable information with regard to outrages, as the natives lie in the most systematic manner. If they are friendly to the offending tribe, they are very likely to trump up evidence against one they are at war with, or turn on to the bushmen crimes for which they are responsible themselves. Often, when afraid to commit some crime themselves, the salt watermen will proclaim a truce with some bush tribe difficult of access, and hire them to commit the act.⁴³

It was the custom for the commanders of the European naval ships patrolling the Pacific to avenge murders of their citizens in the islands. Because of the difficulty in discovering the actual murderers, the common method of punishment was offshore bombardment. So normal was such action by 1880, the New Hebrideans knew what to expect. The people on Aoba, after Johnston's death, asked "when a 'big ship' would come to fight the Murderers."⁴⁴

Therefore the unabated violence in the first half of the 1880s suggests a lack of the deterrence that naval commanders hoped to create. New Hebrideans were probably like their Melanesian cousins on New Britain who did "not care 10 pins about being shelled; they just go inland and wait untill [sic] the war vessel has spent its fury."⁴⁵

Consequently, in 1886, the islands north of Efate plus Tanna in the south, were still a primary frontier area, a "meeting point between savagery and civilization."⁴⁶ Despite the high murder rate the European population of the northern islands had crept to over twenty, mainly because of an influx of French settlers, who now also predominated on Efate.⁴⁷ Influenced chiefly by the formation in New Caledonia in 1882 of the *Compagnie Calédonienne des Nouvelles-Hébrides* (C.C.N.H.), which had the avowed aim of turning the New Hebrides into a French colony, this new French immigration portended a significant change in the balance of power in the group between settlers and natives.

The new company promptly indulged in an orgy of land purchases; thousands of acres were bought by its travelling representatives seeking out the eyes of fertility, not for initial settlement, but for ultimate pre-

emption. A new principle of massive alienation of land had been introduced into the islands. And naturally the company's British competitors followed suit. They devoted little or no time to niceties such as seeking out the true owners, precisely delineating the boundaries, or carefully explaining the concept of permanent alienation. Consequently, unlike the land sales of the 1870s, the new acquisitions were subject to much dispute when settlers eventually tried to claim them.⁴⁸ In 1898 a French Naval officer observed that although settlers usually were able forcefully to evict the occupants of such land, at times the natives subjected them "to a thousand annoyances . . . which cannot end without the intervention of a man-of-war by regular acts of war."⁴⁹ In the early 1900s with a big growth in the European population in the group—from 331 to 1899 to 664 in 1906⁵⁰—there were continuing cases of armed white men warding natives off their claims, violent New Hebridean retaliations, and a barrage of complaints by missionaries on behalf of dispossessed peoples.⁵¹

Increased pressure on a declining native population for labour to serve the new French plantations established in the 1880s led to a reduction in standards of recruiting and treatment of labourers. Contemporaries agreed that French recruiters were less squeamish in their methods than the normally more strictly supervised British, and lack of recruiting licenses for the latter residing in the New Hebrides drove them under the lax standards of the French flag.⁵² Furthermore, though Bridge reported in 1882 that "all the labourers whom I saw appeared perfectly happy," he was rightly concerned about the absence of any supervisory authority.⁵³ By the 1890s mistreatment of labourers on the now mostly French plantations was rife. Queensland Government Agent Douglas Rannie in 1888 found one of a French settler's labourers "lying against a tree trunk with his hands over his head made fast with wire round his wrists; the lids of his eyes were being eaten by flies while ants attacked the ulcerated sores upon his body."⁵⁴ In 1891 a resident correspondent for an Australian newspaper accused the planters in general of managing their labourers like slaves.⁵⁵ A French Naval officer admitted in 1899 that the difficulty French planters had in recruiting labour showed how poorly they were regarded by New Hebrideans.⁵⁶ Indeed, a French inter-island trader, Matthew Rossi, confessed that he was no longer able to recruit for Efate because that island "had such a bad name among the natives."⁵⁷

New Hebrideans who were reluctant to work on French plantations and who preferred trading with British settlers had a subtle revenge. The C.C.N.H. and its successor, the *Société Française des Nouvelles-Hébrides*, both had to be rescued by the French government from imminent bankruptcy.⁵⁸ Moreover, the natives were beginning to profit from the rising

prices they could demand for their labour. The competition between the two sets of European nationals and the consequent growth in the European population created this situation. By 1905 a planter on Santo wrote:

The competition is keen for recruits and, in spite of the fact that fabulous (for a native) sums are being offered to induce them to work, it is as hard to get five men now as it was fifteen in the days gone by. Then they were certainties for a three year term, now they try to beat the hapless recruiter down one year to six months.⁵⁹

And at the end of the 1890s French planters on Efate were being further troubled by local tribesmen who were helping discontented labourers to escape to the friendlier havens of Queensland labour ships, or the Presbyterian mission on the island of Nguna.⁶⁰

Political rivalry finally induced the French administration in New Caledonia to dispatch 300 troops to the group in 1886 on the pretext of native atrocities, an action which resulted in the tightening of European control after 1887, and the establishment of a joint Anglo-French Naval Commission to replace the troops and regularly patrol the islands. The more rigorous reaction to native acts of violence had some impact. After a punitive expedition to avenge two murders of settlers on Aoba in 1897, a surviving trader thankfully remarked that "the natives throughout the island were much impressed . . . particularly with the arrest of the four natives who were accused of the crimes."⁶¹

Nevertheless, by the end of the 1890s parts of the New Hebrides were still dangerous for European settlers. Late in 1898 at South West Bay, Malekula, one of the two resident traders was murdered and the other was "living in terror of his life" because they "had cut down some trees round the house which the natives considered as sacred, and the destruction of which, they said, was causing sickness and death in the village."⁶² The commander of the warship investigating this murder in 1899 also inquired about the killing of a trader's wife on one of the islands off the coast of north-east Malekula and launched a punitive expedition against the still defiant citizens of Tanna.⁶³ Moreover, after a French trader on the south coast of Malekula was shot early in 1900, the instigator of the murder was "in a state of incomprehensible exaltation," declaring "that come what may he will purge the country of the white men who are there and he has no fear whatever of a ship of war."⁶⁴ So, although the preponderance of power that New Hebrideans had held over the early

settlers had slipped away, there were still large areas of the islands under their *de facto* control. In 1906 a British Naval officer explained: "it must be thoroughly understood that in most of the Northern Islands, and on Tanna in the South, absolute anarchy, chaos and even cannibalism exist in the interior."⁶⁵

Thirty years of settlement, the overseas labour trade and the work of missionaries all combined to reinforce the external changes to the way of life of New Hebrideans started initially by the sandalwood trade. The technological revolution wrought by imports of European goods had now penetrated all islands. "Nearly all the natives speak sufficient English, or ... 'Beche-de-mer English,' to make themselves understood; and ... they are keen hands at a bargain, and fully appreciate the value of money and tobacco," wrote a British Naval observer in 1900.⁶⁶ But even the missionaries found it hard to alter fundamental aspects of life-style. Witness the Presbyterian mission's lack of faith in its own native teachers: "A Native Teacher is of very little use without a wife. Indeed, as immorality is the sin of our islands, we insist upon all teachers being married before they are entrusted with an outstation."⁶⁷ Early twentieth century anthropologists attested to the stubborn survival of Melanesian patterns of living, especially in the areas untouched by Christianity, which at the turn of the century were considerable since, as the Presbyterian mission admitted in 1897, the islands north of Epi and also Tanna were "still mainly heathen."⁶⁸ For example, on one of north-east Malekula's off-shore islands, where there had been sufficient European contact to induce the islanders to abandon native canoes in favour of whale-boats, Felix Speiser, in 1912, discovered that the old customs had been very well preserved. Indeed, he wrote: "in spite of their frequent intercourse with whites, the people of Vao are still confirmed cannibals."⁶⁹

One significant effect of permanent European settlement on New Hebrideans was to reduce their number. Admittedly the most recent demographic study of the group maintains the old views of this "fatal impact" have been exaggerated. Nevertheless, from the lost decades of the nineteenth century until the 1930s there was a definite decline in the native population. And the fragmentary evidence suggests that the islands most affected were those with long standing or heavy European settlement, especially those islands with a small land area that allowed wholesale devastation by epidemics of introduced diseases.⁷⁰ These factors are illustrated by the three areas which, according to missionary reports, had the highest ratios of deaths to births from 1899-1900: densely settled Epi, tiny Futuna, and first settled Aneityum.⁷¹ Comparison with the more lightly European-occupied Loyalty Islands, where the indigenous popu-

lation remained relatively stable, also suggests that settlers contributed significantly to high mortality rates in the New Hebrides.⁷²

Besides diseases, two other depopulating factors were "guns and grog." But for the nineteenth century this view has been challenged. As Dorothy Shineberg and Kerry Howe have argued, the short-ranged, inaccurate and slow-firing smooth-bore muskets with which Melanesians were mostly armed up to the 1870s were not the deadly weapons that they have been imagined to be.⁷³ F. A. Campbell noted in 1872 that the widespread use of firearms on Tanna "in no way implies that there is a very great amount of hard fighting or of bloodshed." He explained that when attacking an enemy village the Tannese were careful to remain at such a safe distance that few on either side were hit; the traditional ambush caused more loss of life.⁷⁴ Giles, after his experience on Mai, was even happy to see the use of guns by natives increasing over the use of "poisoned" arrows, because "with the arrow they can shoot very accurately and its wound is fatal in nine cases out of ten, whereas with the gun it is a question of chance and even if hit you may recover."⁷⁵ Giles did note that modern breech-loading rifles were being introduced into the group by 1877. In fact "sniders" were in great demand in the New Hebrides in the 1880s. But the greater range, accuracy and rapidity of fire of the new weapons did not deter the Presbyterian Mission Synod from arguing in 1890 that British settlers should be permitted to sell them in the interests of increasing the British population in the New Hebrides. The missionaries insisted that guns were now part of the New Hebridean way of life and had not caused any increase in mortality.⁷⁶

Nor, initially, was alcoholic drink a new dread curse. Howe has shown that Loyalty Islanders acquired no addiction to it in the nineteenth century.⁷⁷ Up to 1900 this was largely true of the New Hebrides. Although in 1874 the Presbyterian Mission Synod expressed alarm about introduction of intoxicating drink into the islands by the new settlers, Craddock, who was concerned about this, saw few cases of drunkenness among New Hebrideans at Havannah Harbour.⁷⁸ Julian Thomas, an Australian journalist who toured the group in 1883, declared: "It is a mistake to suppose that much liquor is traded to the natives. They are not sufficiently civilised for that."⁷⁹ This contention is supported by the silence of the Mission Synod on the subject for the rest of the century, apart from concern that the mission itself remain free from the taint of the liquor trade. The Reverend Hugh Robertson of Erromanga asserted in 1891: "The natives are wonderfully temperate compared with white people," though he remarked that some "acquired a taste for intoxicants" while labourers in Queensland.⁸⁰ And in 1895 Peter Milne on Nguna claimed that the Chris-

tians, who were a majority of the people in his missionary district, were all "tea-totallers."⁸¹ Not until 1906 did the Synod again voice concern about increasing sales of liquor to the natives when the Presbyterian *New Hebrides Magazine* described it as "a comparatively new element of antagonism to the work."⁸²

Up to 1900, therefore, the impact of European settlement on the New Hebrides was less devastating than tradition has depicted.⁸³ And many retained much of their pre-contact culture, borrowing from the settlers only what suited them. Indeed, in the first thirty years of permanent European settlement, the natives of the New Hebrides showed much independence in their contacts with the "blessings" of civilization.

NOTES

1. See Dorothy Shineberg, *They Came for Sandalwood: A Study of the Sandalwood Trade in the South West Pacific, 1830-1865*, Melbourne, 1967, *passim*.
2. James L. A. Hope, *In Quest of Coolies*, London, 1872, p. 32. Thurston, "Journal of a Voyage from Ovalau . . .," 14 May 1871, quoted in Deryck Scarr, *The Majesty of Colour: A Life of John Bates Thurston*, vol. 1, I, *the Very Bayonet*, Canberra, 1973, p. 146.
3. *Christian Review and Messenger of the Presbyterian Church of Victoria*, February 1870, p. 10.
4. Diary of W. G. Farguhar, *Schooner "Petrel"*, 24 December 1871, no. 496, Pacific Manuscripts Bureau (hereafter P.M.B.) National Library of Australia, Canberra (microfilm).
5. John Westwood, *Island Stories*—Being Extracts From the Papers of Mr. John Westwood, Mariner of London and Shanghai, Shanghai, 1905, p. 19. John Moresby, *Discoveries and Surveys in New Guinea and the d'Entrecasteaux Islands: A Cruise in Torres Straits of H.M.S. "Basilisk"*, London, 1876, p. 116. Lieutenant-Commander T. Suckling to Commodore F. H. Stirling, 31 July 1873; Commodore J. G. Goodenough to Admiralty, 16 November, 24 December 1874, Royal Navy Australian Station. Records of the Commander-in-Chief (hereafter R.N.A.S.), vol. 33, National Library of Australia (microfilm).
6. Suckling to Stirling, 31 July 1873, *loc. cit.* Diary of W. R. Craddock, Craddock Family Papers, MSS 1021, Mitchell Library, Sydney (hereafter M.L.), *passim*.
7. *Ibid.*, 2 August 1873.
8. *Christian Review and Messenger*, October 1871, p. 13.
9. Wallace to Matthew, n.d., quoted in Deryck Scarr, *Fragments of Empire: A History of the Western Pacific High Commission, 1877-1914*, Canberra, 1967, p. 199.
10. Albert Hastings Markham, *The Cruise of the "Rosario" Amongst the New Hebrides and Santa Cruz Islands, Exposing the Recent Atrocities Connected with the Kidnapping of Natives in the South Seas*, London 1873, pp. 227-8.
11. Craddock Diary, 21 June 1873.
12. F. A. Campbell, *A Year in the New Hebrides, Loyalty Islands, and New Caledonia*, Geelong, 1873, pp. 162-3.

13. J. G. Beaglehole (ed.), *The Journals of Captain James Cook on His Voyages of Discovery*, Cambridge, 1961, vol. 2, p. 493, n. 3.
14. In Queensland the Tannese along with the Malaita men proved the most volatile of the Pacific Island labourers, and these two groups "singled each other out as natural enemies." Peter Corris, *Passage, Port and Plantation: A History of Solomon Islands Labour Migration 1870-1914*, Melbourne, 1973, p. 89.
15. Craddock Diary, 27, 3, 5 June, 2 August 1873.
16. *Australian Witness and Presbyterian Herald* (Sydney), 15 August 1874, p. 2. For inter-racial sexual and other social relations in Fiji and other Pacific island beach communities see John Young, "Evernescent Ascendancy: The Planter Community in Fiji" in J. W. Davidson & Deryck Scarr (eds.), *Pacific Islands Portraits*, Canberra, 1970; and Caroline Ralston, *Grass Huts and Warehouses: Pacific Beach Communities in the Nineteenth Century*, Canberra, 1977.
17. Leefe to Gordon, 10 March 1878, Records of the Western Pacific High Commission Secretariat (hereafter W.P.H.C.), Inwards Correspondence, 4/78, Western Pacific Archives, London.
18. W.P.H.C., Land Register, Book A, folio 34. Joint Court of the New Hebrides Records, Land Judgment no. 116, Joint Court, Vila.
19. Craddock Diary, 5, 6, June 1873.
20. Goodenough to Admiralty, 16 November 1874, R.N.A.S., vol. 33. Private Journals of Commodore J. G. Goodenough, X, 28 April 1875, MSS 899, M.L.
21. Cardozo to Governor of New Caledonia, 4 July 1876 Des Granges Papers (microfilm), Department of Pacific & South East Asian History, Australian National University, Canberra. "Plantations in the New Hebrides" in "To Commander-in-Chief," 29 October 1876, R.N.A.S. vol. 33.
22. L. Layard to E. L. Layard, 28 July 1877, in Foreign Office to Colonial Office, 14 November 1877, Colonial Office Records, London (hereafter C.O.), 83/15. Leefe to Gordons, 10 March 1878, W.P.H.C., Inwards Correspondence, 4/78.
23. E. L. Layard to Commander-in-Chiefs, 14 May 1877 and enclosures, R.N.A.S., vol. 14. An example of the reaction to the penis-sheath was W. T. Wawn's in 1875: "In Tanna . . . where the missionaries have not prevailed upon them to adopt the waist-cloth or a more European style of dress, the men appear simply more disgusting than if they contented themselves with nothing at all." William T. Wawn, *The South Sea Islanders and the Queensland Labour Trade*, repr., Canberra, 1973, p. 20.
24. Campbell, *A Year in the New Hebrides*, pp. 132, 122.
25. Layard to Layard, 28 July 1877, in Foreign Office to Colonial Office, 14 November 1877, C.O. 83/15.
26. Journal of C. Rudd, *Mary Eliza*, 4 September 1876, Journals of Government Agents, 1876-1914 (hereafter J.G.A.), no. 4, Agent General of Immigration, Central Archives of Fiji, Suva.
27. W. E. Giles, *A Cruise in a Queensland Labour Vessel to the South Seas*, ed. Deryck Scarr, Canberra, 1968, p. 73, note 94, pp. 91-2.

28. H. S. Chiffin to L. Layard, 10 March 1880, in Layard to Gordon, 7 April 1880, W.P.H.C., Inwards Correspondence 60/80.
29. Layard to Layard, 28 July 1887, in Foreign Office to Colonial Office, 14 November 1877, C.O. 83/15.
30. Giles, *A Cruise in a Queensland Labour Vessel*, p. 69.
31. Affidavit by W. E. Giles, 13 November 1884, W.P.H.C., Land Register, Book A, folios 112-4.
32. Journal of J. Gaggin, *Dauntless*, 3 April 1878, J.G.A., no. 10.
33. Commodore Wilson to Admiralty, 22 May 1879, R.N.A.S., vol. 33. Giles, *A Cruise in a Queensland Labour Vessel*, pp. 30-1. It has been suggested also that British labour recruiting bans caused this exodus (Scarr, *Fragments of Empire*, p. 182), but the planters who survived were still able to procure labour from foreign ships. See Captain C. A. Bridge to Sir G. W. Des Voeux, 9 August 1882, W.P.H.C., Inwards Correspondence, 138/82.
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35. Corris, *Port, Passage and Plantation*, p. 99. Charles A. Valentine III, "An Introduction to the History of Changing Ways of Life on the Island of New Britain," Doctoral Dissertation University of Pennsylvania, 1958, p. 76. Peter J. Hemenstall, *Pacific Islanders Under German Rule: A Study in the Meaning of Colonial Resistance*, Canberra, 1978, pp. 120-2.
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66. J. J. Walker, "Report on the New Hebrides, Banks and Torres Islands," Appendix VII, Australian Station: New Hebrides 1900, in Admiralty to Colonial Office, 9 March 1901, C.O. 225/61.
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75. Giles, *A Cruise in a Queensland Labour Vessel*, p. 57. Deryck Scarr notes that the deadly "poison" of the arrows was their frequent infection with the tetanus bacillus. *Ibid.*, pp. 57-8, n. 64.
76. Minutes of the New Hebrides Presbyterian Mission Synod, 26 May 1890. *Argus* (Melbourne), 8 October 1890, p. 10. *Presbyterian*, 4 April 1891, p. 5.
77. Howe, *The Loyalty Islands*, pp. 152-3.
78. Minutes of the New Hebrides Presbyterian Mission Synod, 8 June 1874. Craddock Diary, 16 June, 2 August 1873.

79. Julian Thomas, *Cannibals & Convicts: Notes of Personal Experiences in the Western Pacific*, London, 1886, p. 200.

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81. Milne to his brother, 13 December 1895, Letters of the Rev. Peter Milne, no. 197, P.M.B.

82. Minutes of the New Hebrides Presbyterian Mission Synod, 11 June 1906. *New Hebrides Magazine*, August 1906, p. 9.

83. See, for example, Tom Harrison, *Savage Civilisation*, London, 1973, chs. 4 and 5.

THE MEANING OF NIUTAO *FAKAVALEVALE* (CRAZY) BEHAVIOR: A POLYNESIAN THEORY OF MENTAL DISORDER

by Jay Noricks

This study is concerned broadly with the relationship between culture and mental disorder.¹ More specifically it is concerned with the perception and classification of mental disorders by the people of the west Polynesian island of Niutao. Among the important questions that are addressed are the extent to which organic deficiency is perceived to be at the root of abnormal behavior and how abnormal behavior, indicative of psychiatric disorder, is distinguished from deviant behavior in general.

These and related questions are addressed through the analysis of the Niutao concept of *fakavalevale*, loosely translated as "crazy." This term is applied both to certain forms of abnormal behavior and to certain individuals regularly guilty of engaging in this behavior. The "abnormal behaviour" of Niutao men and women in this context fits the definition of mental disorder advanced by Leighton (1969: 180) "patterns of behavior and feeling that are out of keeping with cultural expectations and that bother the person who acts and feels them, or bothers others around him, or both."

Analysis of the *fakavalevale* concept reveals that the people of Niutao do have a theory of psychopathological disorder, although it is a theory implicit in their perceptions and categorizations of those around them. It must, therefore, be explicated by the anthropologist. In part, the problem of explication is one of meaning; that is, how best to translate some Polynesian terms into English without doing considerable violence to the integrity of the semantic boundaries of both Polynesian and English concepts. Accordingly, the first part of the paper consists of a short linguistic analysis of the most important Niutao concepts. A semantic analysis follows, along with description of the major sub-types of *fakavalevale* behavior and an analysis of the underlying characteristics of Niutao mental abnormality in general.

The People and the Land

The Polynesian speakers of Niutao occupy one of the nine islands making up the small nation of Tuvalu in the Western Pacific Ocean. The

island has a total resident population of approximately 900, with between 300 and 400 others living and working at off-island labor, primarily at the phosphate mines of Nauru and Ocean Island.

The economy is basically horticultural. The root crops taro and atoll taro (*Cyrtosperma*) are supplemented with coconuts, breadfruit, bananas and fish. For some families rice, flour, and sugar, purchased with gift money from phosphate laborers, have become staples.

The local land area of Niutao is approximately one square mile. Its elevation averages about six feet above sea level. Its highest elevation, the site of the village complex, is about 20 feet above sea level. Rainfall averages 112 inches per year.

The Method

The core data described in this paper were collected as part of a series of classifications of "kinds of Niutao people" over a five month period during 1970. This particular work was with one thirty year old informant, married, and mother of two. She is typical in her home situation, social status, and education of other Niutao. All interviews and collection of data were carried out in the Niutao language.

In each of the classification tasks the informant was given approximately 500 cards containing the names of all adults entered on the head-tax rolls for Niutao in 1969. She was asked simply to classify *fakavasenga* people. When she asked "How?," I replied, "If all people are the same then they cannot be classified. Are all people the same?" When she replied that all people are not the same, I again asked her to classify them. In this way I hoped to avoid imposing my own categories and instead elicit the categories that were relevant in Niutao culture. In all she produced nine separate classifications (containing approximately 120 categories) before she felt she had exhausted the possibilities. After the first classification, concerned with such social identities as married persons, bachelors, widows, and so on, the great bulk of categories consisted of local personality and character types. The second classification, from which the *fakavalevale* ("crazy") category is drawn, includes such categories as "liars," "generous people," "show-offs," and "selfish people." While the categories are only partly mutually exclusive, some of them contrast directly with others (e.g., "generous" vs. "selfish" people). The *fakavalevale* category has no single contrasting category, but is in partial contrast with people who are "knowledgeable/skillful in work."²

Each classification was followed by an in-depth interview in which I was concerned to understand the meaning of each adjectival or noun cate-

gory, and the degree to which it contrasted with other categories. I also asked for specific examples of behavior of particular individuals indicative of the manner in which they communicated their personality or character type to others.

Inevitably the kinds of things people know about others on a small island like Niutao draws heavily upon gossip. But for most people this does not make the knowledge any less real than direct observation. As Arthur Wolf (1970: 510) points out in his study of Chinese villages, "In the small communities in which my subjects and informants live, what people say about one another is not easily forgotten. In this world, gossip is more than malicious talk, it is part of a person's social identity, no more likely to be forgotten than the person himself."

The necessity for analyzing the *fakavalevale* concept became evident to me only after nine months of fieldwork, when I suddenly realized that Niutoans were using the term in ways I could no longer comprehend. The incident which brought this about was an announcement over the Colony radio that police were investigating a reported case of incest on a neighboring island. When Niutao men and women talked about the broadcast the following day the common expression was that the man involved was *fakavalevale* (the case involved a minor girl). I could understand this well enough since many English speakers would also consider incest as "crazy" behavior—although they probably wouldn't go as far as the Niutao in considering incest to include even fourth cousins. But things became confusing when further remarks were made about the man. Several Niutao pointed out that when he had once lived on Niutao he acted in a *fakavalevale* manner there too. When asked what he did in Niutao that was *fakavalevale*, the reply was that he would go over to other people's houses to "chat," "gossip," or "swap stories" (*faitala*). I was unable to see the connection between "incest" and "chatting" that made them both directly comparable as "crazy behavior."

Clearly the problem is one of meaning. My approach to the solution of the problem is to examine the broad range of actions holding membership in the "crazy" category, each action to be considered within its cultural context. The meaning of *fakavalevale* is then derived from the common elements in the actions labeled as *fakavalevale* by the Niutao.

The Term

The compound term *fakavalevale* is built up through the re-duplication of the base *vale* and the causative or transitive prefix *faka-*. Re-duplication, a common device in Polynesian languages, functions to indicate

continuity or repetition of action through time. The prefix *faka-* in this case can be glossed roughly in English translation as "act like" or "act in the manner of."³ An early approximation for *fakavalevale* is then "act in the manner of" one who is *vale* repetitively.

The base *vale* has several usages. By itself it can be used equally well to denote severe psychosis or mental retardation. In another context it refers to the condition of drunkenness and the associated body sensations (said to be a "numbness" and lack of "proper feeling" in body parts). A man who frequently has conversations with himself on the village paths will also be described as *vale*. As a modifier of verbs, the base identifies the action as somehow "non-productive," "without purpose," "without value" or "in vain," as in the forms *taafao-vale*, meaning "play without purpose" (of the behavior of children), and *ikuvale*, meaning "end in vain." In the related form *valea* the generic meaning is recognized as "ignorant," but in the pejorative usage the usual value given is "stupid." In the re-duplicated form *valevale*, as a modifier of verbs, it generally characterizes the action as being in some way "indiscriminate" or "without (proper) order(ing)," as, for example, *tavili valevale*, meaning "speak indiscriminately" (i.e., to fail to take into consideration such factors as age, sex, and social position of the person addressed). In the context of meetings of village organizations, *valevale* can be used to connote informality, as in the expression *fai valevale*, meaning "proceed informally" indicating that the meeting will take place without regard for the normal rules of formal speech, precedence, and introduction of subject matter. As a modifier of nouns *valevale* takes on the meaning "of all kinds," "of all sorts," as in *laakau valevale*, meaning "plants of all kinds." The combination of the prefix *faka-* with the re-duplicated base *valevale* produces the form *faka-valevale*, sometimes translated as "(be) crazy," or "act crazily," and sometimes perhaps better translated as "(be) irresponsible" or "act irresponsibly." An examination of the range of improprieties to which this appellation is applied reveals that there is always a strong association with one or more of the qualities indicated above as denoted by forms involving the base *vale*. I will return to these considerations later.

The Behavior

The description which follows examines the kinds of behavior characteristic of the 67 men and women over the age of fifteen classified as *fakavalevale* out of a total sample of 518. The discussion follows the subcategory arrangement used by my informant to illustrate the several ways *fakavalevale* people reveal themselves to others. This arrangement

reflects focal areas of *fakavalevale* behavior rather than mutually exclusive behavioral patterns. Many people are said to behave in a *fakavalevale* fashion across several cultural focuses.

1. *Inadequate Work Behavior.* One important focal area of *fakavalevale* behavior involves the accomplishment of work and the products of work. Within the successively wider domains of household, kindred, and island community, a person's work is viewed as a valuable resource that ought to be applied conscientiously and never squandered in non-productive pursuits. The skill and industry with which an individual accomplishes his work expresses two of the most important elements in the evaluation of social worth. But the work behavior of a person who combines the qualities of "ignorance" (*valea*), inattentiveness, and laziness has value neither to his kinsmen nor to the wider community. These negatively valued characteristics are attributed to people whose work behavior is viewed as *fakavalevale*. Examples of this behavior are found in producing work that is sub-standard in quality through faulty execution, working in a manner that produces very little in the way of quantity because of the failure to stick to a task once begun, and contributing work to persons and groups who do not have primary rights to it such as a man's in-laws.

The forms of *fakavalevale* behavior expressed in relation to work, particularly that of faulty execution of work, are especially interesting since these behaviors, more than in relation to any other focal area, are attributed to some sort of organic deficiency of mind. This is evident in the frequent application to people who behave in this way of such labels as "insane and retarded" (*vale*); "ignorant and stupid" (*valea*); "bad brain" (*faaii maasei*); and "sick head" (*ulupoko masaki*).

2. *Spirit Possession.* A pattern of sub-standard work behavior is also evident among other groupings of *fakavalevale* people. This is true, for example, of a group of women described as subject to frequent bouts of spirit possession. Although the poor quality and small quantity of work may be pointed out as one of the things that is bad about being possessed by spirits, it is the frantic and frenzied behavior of a person while possessed that is focused upon as *fakavalevale*. Spirit possession can happen to anyone regardless of age, but it is predominantly a condition that affects women. A woman possessed may rip off her clothes, scream obscenities, mistreat her children, hurl accusations of sorcery, or behave in a number of other ways that are considered beyond the bounds of acceptable behavior for responsible adults. (She may also speak in strange languages,⁴ but this in itself is not improper.) The behavior displayed by a

woman while possessed is not considered truly her own but is rather the behavior of the spirit in temporary control of her body. However, while the cause of the behavior is attributed to an outside force, a woman frequently given to spirit possession will, like people with organically deficient minds, suffer a low estimation of social worth.

3. *Inappropriate Public Deportment.* Another focal area of *fakavalevale* behavior involves the relationship between individuals and groups in formal assembly. The kind of social error involved here is most often made by young unmarried women, seemingly oblivious to what is going on around them. It occurs on such occasions as the gatherings of women's clubs and village sections and for choir singing, an activity which brings men and women together in close proximity. Acts particularly demonstrative of inappropriate public deportment are the use of obscene language and laughing or giggling aloud during the discussion of important matters. These acts are considered to be in exceedingly bad taste and are viewed as disrespectful to the dignity of the gathering. The use of obscene language is especially abhorrent when both men and women are present, as on occasions of choir singing, since both parties to real or classificatory "opposite sex sibling" (*tuangaane*) relationships are likely to be present. Obscene language should never be used in the hearing of both parties to "opposite sex sibling" relationships since it violates the rule requiring that a high degree of sexual distance be maintained between these parties.

4. *Residence Impropriety.* *Fakavalevale* behavior appears most often in certain acts which violate the set of rules defining the proper relationship between an individual and his residence unit. It is said of people who behave inappropriately in this context that they "don't know where home is." Although there is relative ease of movement between related households when friction among family members becomes too great, changes in household affiliation should not occur too frequently. Everyone should have a permanent residence; wives should live with their husbands, and all others should reside with their fathers or closest patrilineal relations.⁵ A person who repeatedly moves back and forth between his primary household and another household (from quarrel to quarrel), or who moves serially among several households, will be viewed as behaving in a *fakavalevale* fashion. Other kinds of behavior which merit this label involve the regular dereliction of day-to-day household duties. Commonly, for both men and women, this failing consists of wasting time with extensive "gossip" or "idle conversation" (*faitala*) at other people's houses.⁶ Some men are additionally prone to joining in bachelor games, getting drunk, or

joining in activities of their wives' relations. Unless a person has occasion to fulfill a specific obligation elsewhere, his time should be spent at his own residence or in the pursuance of household and close-kindred concerns. From the point of view of members of a household, any time or labor expended among others, or for their benefit, is wasted effort—effort without value.

5. *Heeding Others.* Another type of *fakavalevale* behavior is spoken of as "heeding the wishes of others." The impropriety of acts described in this way derives from the fact that the counsel of near kin or clear-cut obligations to near kin were ignored. In American society, the same types of individuals would be those unable to refuse a request. Several of the people guilty of "heeding others" are known for the ease with which they can be tricked or cajoled to other's benefit. These people are spoken of as *fakavalevale* when, for example, they allow themselves to be talked out of freshly caught fish or praised into donating labor. A man who follows his wife's urging to move in with her family rather than establish his own patrilocal residence is also spoken of as acting *fakavalevale*. Another example is seen in the behavior of a girl who, against the pleas and demands of her family, went off with a bachelor who falsely promised marriage at the end of a journey. This last case is notable also for its violation of the negative injunction to act in no way that will bring shame to the household and kindred.

6. *Illegitimate Marriage and Parenthood.* Another important focus of *fakavalevale* behavior is closely bound up with features of marriage, parenthood and illegitimacy. Prior to marriage, bachelors and unmarried women are considered incapable of sexual propriety in unsupervised interaction. Consequently, girls are closely watched over during daytime ventures outside the village and chaperoned during nighttime movements outside the home. Bachelors, however, have freedom of movement and are prone to sexual forays in the form of "sneaking into girls' sleeping nets" (*moetolo*) an activity which, when successful, enhances a bachelor's sense of manhood as well as his prestige in the eyes of his peers. Since a careful watch over an unmarried girl is difficult to maintain over a period of several years, unwanted pregnancies sometimes occur. If the girl's lover is unidentified or refuses to marry her, both she and her child will suffer from the stigma of illegitimacy. In time, provided that she is humble, hard-working, and circumspect in behavior, her illegitimate motherhood may be forgiven as an understandable but unfortunate error in growing

up. But if, by having still another illegitimate child, she demonstrates that she has learned nothing from her mistake, people will refer to her and her behavior as *fakavalevale*. They will say that she is ignorant of the difference between right and wrong.

The wrong choice of a marriage partner can also lead to the *fakavalevale* label. This is the case, for example, when a "bachelor without children" (*tamataene*) insists upon marrying a woman who has previously given birth to an illegitimate child. "Bachelors" should only marry "young women" (*tamaafine*) who are similarly unencumbered. Illegitimate children must also exercise prudence in their choice of spouses. Should two illegitimate children insist upon marrying each other, both will be said to be *fakavalevale*. Clearly related to this labeling is the fact that children of bastard parents are spoken of as having extremely bad character and are believed to be strongly inclined towards such improper behavior as lying, stealing, and producing more illegitimate children. That is, the character defects of the illegitimate parents are believed to be inherited by the illegitimate children and by later legitimate grandchildren.

Following marriage, both men and women are expected to put aside the frivolous activities of youth. The marital relationship should be one of responsibility and trust. Women are no longer chaperoned and watched over, and men are expected to give up both their bachelor friends and their sexual escapades. Married persons who engage in extra-marital sexual activities are referred to as *fakavalevale*. "Sexual activities" include not only intercourse but also any behavior calculated to make oneself attractive to the opposite sex, such as flirting and using perfume.

7. *Rough-house Play Between Opposite Sex Siblings.* The last major type of *fakavalevale* behavior consists of indulging in a form of "play" behavior: that of touching, hitting, or wrestling with an "opposite sex (real or classificatory) sibling" (*tuangaane*). Such behavior defies the principle upon which almost all behavior rules for siblings of opposite sex are based, that of sexual distance. For example, a "brother/sister pair" (*tautuangaane*) should never touch, sit next to each other, sleep in the same house unless others are present, or speak of sexual matters in each other's presence. The kind of rough-house play in which a "brother/sister pair" are brought into intimate contact is viewed as almost incest. The Niutao imagine that opposite sex siblings who act in this manner have either already committed incest or will shortly do so.

The Meaning

In summarizing the underlying features of *fakavalevale* behavior it will be useful to keep in mind the dimensions of meaning glossed at the

beginning of the analysis as "lacking in value," "ignorance," "indiscriminate," "lacking in (proper) order(ing)," and "irresponsibility." A characteristic common to all behavior classified as *fakavalevale* is the failure to produce anything of material or social value. Rather, from the perspective of an individual's household and kindred, such behavior is either non-productive or counter-productive. The failure to produce something of material value is most evident in regard to work and the products of work, where *fakavalevale* behavior produces work of poor quality or small quantity, or it may consist of the squandering of work to the benefit of other households. *Fakavalevale* behavior is also viewed as non-productive and lacking in value where work and material objects are not directly involved, as for example in an adulterous union, a marriage between a pair of illegitimately born persons, and the bearing of numerous illegitimate children. All such acts bring shame, embarrassment, and disgust to offenders' close kin and co-householders. These acts also bring about a loss of "points" (*kai*) on the value scale which measures respect and prestige in the ceaseless intra-village competition between households.

People whose behavior is *fakavalevale* are viewed as possessing minds which are deficient in the ability to reason effectively and to distinguish proper courses of action from improper ones. Among the group of people who are labeled consistently as *fakavalevale* in thought and behavior are three or four who, more than any others, show clear evidence of organic deficiency of mind.⁷ The Niutao recognize this condition in observations which point out that such persons' conditions as *vale* ("insanity," "retardation") derive from "bad brains" or "sick heads." On occasion, other persons will also be observed to be suffering from "sick heads," although not to as great a degree. But the large majority of people who commit *fakavalevale* acts are generally conceded to have minds that are well and whole. Their problem is that in spite of seemingly whole minds they sometimes act as if this were not the case. When these people behave in a *fakavalevale* manner, the shorter expressions *valea* ("stupid," "ignorant") and *vale* ("insane," "retarded"), are also used to characterize their mental condition. In such cases the use of the term *vale* seems to be largely a metaphorical extension based upon the true or complete *vale* condition of "insanity" or "retardation." *Valea* as "ignorant" or "stupid," although largely overlapping with the usage of *vale*, is more strongly associated with a deficiency of mind resulting from poor upbringing and faulty learning. The expression *fakavalevale* can itself be used to denote the condition of one's mind, adding to the notion of organic or super-organic deficiency—the connotation that one's thoughts deal "indiscriminately" with

appropriate and inappropriate considerations. But when it appears in contrastive association with *vale* or *valea* it serves to characterize the nature of behavior produced by deficient conditions of mind. The gloss "crazy" is appropriate here for *fakavalevale* since it preserves the strong association of this kind of act with unsoundness of mind without signifying that a given actor is himself suffering from "insanity" or "retardation." *Fakavalevale* behavior is then the kind of behavior one expects from insane people and retarded people but is not confined only to them.

Earlier I indicated that *fakavalevale* behavior is associated with the features of "indiscrimination" and "lack of (proper) order(ing)." This association is closely bound up with the aspect of the meaning of *fakavalevale* glossed here as "irresponsible." To the Niutao observers the individual whose behavior is *fakavalevale* seems often to be acting "indiscriminately" in that he fails to recognize that the different kinds of relationships obtaining between himself and others call for varying constraints on behavior. That is, he fails to acknowledge that social relationships are, necessarily, ordered relationships, and that this order is maintained only when behavior is consistent with the expectations of the community for the conduct of different categories of person. For example, a "married man" (*tangata*) who engages in sexual intercourse with someone other than his wife, or who joins the "bachelors" (*tamataene* in their drinking and gaming, is behaving according to the set of expectations people have for "bachelors," expectations which are quite different from those that people have for "married men." When, by the act of marrying, he signaled to the community that he was prepared to accept the responsibilities of full adulthood, he exchanged his membership in one social category ("bachelor") together with its attached set of expectations for membership in a new social category ("married man") with a different set of expectations, including the expectation that "bachelor" activities will be put aside. Similarly, a "bachelor" who marries a "woman" (*fafine*) with an illegitimate child is also failing to conduct himself properly. The only appropriate marriage partner for a "bachelor" is an "unmarried girl" (*tamafine*) yet to conceive a child. And again, an "opposite sex sibling pair" is expected to maintain an extreme degree of sexual distance. In rough-house play both parties are acting like "non-kinsmen." In each of these examples the offenders are behaving irresponsibly in relation to the social categories in which they hold membership. Each is demonstrating the inability to restrain behavior within the bounds deemed appropriate to their respective social categories.

The Causes of *Fakavalevale*

Table 1 summarizes the causes of *fakavalevale* behavior in relation to the types of abnormal behavior associated with them. It represents a combination of both informants' and my own observations. As such some explanation is necessary.

Table 1

The Causes of *Fakavalevale* Behavior

<i>Causes</i>	<i>Types of Abnormal Behavior</i>
Organic deficiency	
Sickness of the head	Inadequate work behavior
Psychosis	Inadequate work behavior
Mental retardation	Inadequate work behavior
	Heeding others
	Inappropriate public deportment
Old age	
Faulty learning and/or willful ignorance	Inadequate work behavior
	Residence impropriety
	Illegitimate marriage and parenthood
	Inappropriate public deportment
	Rough-house play between opposite sex siblings
Inherited character defect	
	Illegitimate marriage and parenthood
	Residence impropriety
Spirits	
	Spirit possession
	Inadequate work behavior

"Organic deficiency" is my own label for the causes informants refer to as a "sickness of the head," "they have been like that all their lives"

(mental retardation), and "being old" (senility). The Niutao have no label directly corresponding to "psychosis." I have included it under "organic deficiency" because the only person on the island definitely psychotic was included among those referred to as "sick in the head." This person, a woman of about fifty, was rarely able to do work of any kind. My informant said of her that there was never a time when she knew what was going on around her. Whenever I was nearby she either hid or ran away. Her relatives reported that she felt that I was plotting to come back at night to kidnap and eat her.

Being perceived as "sick in the head" here is to be perceived as having an organic deficiency of some kind. This is clear when those with this condition are contrasted directly with those whose *fakavalevale* behavior is said to be due to a problem in "thinking" (*maafaufau*) rather than a problem with their heads (*ulupoko*) or brains (*faaiiai*).

The label "mental retardation" refers to those reported to have "just grown up that way" or who "have been that way all their lives." These people are frequently referred to as "ignorant" (*valea*). They are especially ignorant of how to begin a work project without direction, or how to complete it once begun. Because they are unable to distinguish truth from lies and propriety from impropriety they are sometimes taken advantage of by others. They then become guilty of "heeding others." At least two of the young women guilty of "inappropriate public deportment," that is, giggling and laughing aloud during public assemblies, are characterized in a way suggesting they are of lower intelligence than the average person. They show this especially in the kind of work behavior mentioned above. Both are also characterized as having habitual responses of giggling in whatever situation they find themselves.

"Old age" is also perceived as sometimes causing *fakavalevale* behavior. I have no examples of abnormal behavior among the types appearing in this analysis. From other data, however, I have the example of a man said to be suffering from "old age" (senility) who would suddenly appear at a gathering of individuals (e.g., for choir singing) and begin questioning those present as to some imagined wrong of theirs in the past. Interestingly, senility which does not constitute interpersonal behavioral abnormality is not considered *fakavalevale*. For example, one old man of ninety who was frequently incontinent, rarely lucid, but never threatening, was not considered to be *fakavalevale*. He was a custodial problem for his family, not a behavior problem.

Those whose abnormal behavior is characterized as being due to "faulty learning" or "willful ignorance" are not perceived (in theory) as having an organic impairment. Their thoughts (*maafaufau*) are perceived

as the problem rather than their brains (*faaiai*). There is no sharp boundary, however, between faulty learning as a lifetime pattern and behavior that is due to lowered intelligence. A particular individual might sometimes be perceived as unable to learn and therefore "not like the rest of us" on one occasion, but on another occasion spoken of as being essentially normal but obstinate in refusing to learn from past mistakes.

Nor is there a sharp distinction drawn between "faulty learning" and "wilfull ignorance" as a cause of *fakavalevale* behavior. The major informant for this study displayed both attitudes toward guilty parties. An excellent example of this is the *fakavalevale* characterization of women who have multiple illegitimate children. Having one illegitimate child does not lead to being labeled as *fakavalevale*. But a woman who has been advised, scolded and beaten for a first illegitimate child should certainly know she was in error. Having a second or third illegitimate child in the face of such instruction makes it clear that she was either unable to learn proper behavior or she was willfully ignorant of it. To the observer it makes no difference which was the actual cause.

Faulty learning or willful ignorance produces the widest range of *fakavalevale* behavior of any of the perceived causes. The people involved should know better. On most occasions they are like any other normal person except they persist in their repetitive or intermittent abnormal actions. To the Niutao observer these are the most confusing and perplexing cases.

The cause labeled as "inherited character defect" is never cited as the sole cause of *fakavalevale* behavior. It is perceived as a contributing factor, especially in regard to illegitimate parentage. Because it is thought of as inherited somehow through the "blood" (*toto*) it should perhaps be included among the organic causes. However, in spite of the fact that the tendency toward *fakavalevale* behavior is said to be inherited, those with this problem are held entirely responsible for their actions, while those with an organic deficiency are also held responsible for their acts. The fact that they presumably cannot do otherwise acts as a partial excuse for them.

The final cause of *fakavalevale* behavior, that of "spirits," produces the possessed person. Those frequently possessed also display inadequate work behavior. "Spirit possession" is the only one of the types of abnormal behavior discussed here for which a person is not held responsible to some degree. This was illustrated during the course of a case tried in the local criminal court. One woman, during a bout of spirit possession, accused a man of working sorcery. He filed a claim for libel against her with the criminal court. The court found her not guilty on the grounds

that it was not her but the spirit in possession of her who made the accusation of sorcery.

CONCLUSION

Recalling now the incident described in the introduction where incest was compared directly with spending time chatting at others' houses, it is clear that the two kinds of action are both *fakavalevale*. Incest confuses the rights and duties of kinsmen with non-kinsmen, and spending time chatting at others' houses ignores one's obligations to the household unit. There would also seem to be an additional confusion here of the relative freedom of action permitted a bachelor with the more restricted set of expectations people have for a married man. Incest, wasting time chatting away the day at others' houses, establishing residence with one's in-laws, and (for a bachelor) marrying a woman who already has a child, are all acts sharing a basic commonality, a commonality they do not share with such acts as killing, lying, and thievery. The latter delicts, although reprehensible, are not acts which call into question an individual's soundness of mind or his understanding of the basic orderliness of social relationships.

All *fakavalevale* ("crazy, irresponsible") acts create social confusion by bringing about a kind of ungrammatical situation whereby the behavior of individuals expresses social relationships which cannot appropriately obtain between the social categories they occupy. The acts which express such relationships are valueless and without meaning within the Niutao framework for social order. Their meaning as "crazy" or "irresponsible" acts accrues to them because they occur outside this framework. In the Niutao view positive value and meaning derive only from behavior that is structurally consistent with the Niutao design for living, the grammar for appropriate combinations of categories of person, group and behavior.

NOTES

1. The fieldwork upon which this paper is based was supported by the National Institute of Mental Health through Public Health Service grant number MH44650.
2. The full set of categories which constitutes what I am glossing here as "kinds of Niutao people" does not represent a "contrast set" as defined by Frake (1962: 76-79). Instead it is a grouping (actually a series of groupings) of people arranged by my informant according to the characteristic in which each is said to be "strongest" (*maalosi*). The aspect of person that is involved can usually be termed "personal identity" as defined by Goodenough (1965: 3-4).

3. As a prefix to verbs *faka-* frequently functions to change an intransitive verb to a transitive verb, as in *oti* as "be finished" and *fakaoti* as "finish (a task)." When it can be translated the meaning generally approximates "cause to." For example, *maasei* as "bad" and *fakamaasei* as "cause to be bad" (i.e., "ruin").
4. The glossolalia of a possessed woman has been said to produce English, German, and other "strange" languages unknown to the woman.
5. One's patrilateral relations are assumed to be those with whom one shares primary rights to land. In the unusual case where a person's primary rights to land are shared with matrilateral relations, residence with the latter is also legitimate.
6. There are many acceptable occasions for idle conversation. Among them are public feast days and gardening work parties in the bush.
7. There are no persons consistently considered *vale* in the sense of "insane" or "retarded" who are not also characterized as *fakavalevale* ("crazy," "irresponsible"). The section on "causes" discusses "insanity" as organic in origin.

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PERSONAL WORK HISTORIES OF SOLOMON ISLANDS PLANTATION LABOURERS—METHODOLOGY AND USES

by Judith A. Bennett

Both the methodology used and the data examined in this paper are products of field work conducted in 1976 in the Solomon Islands as part of a major research project entitled, "Wealth of the Solomons: a history of trade, plantations and society, c. 1800-1945."¹ The gathering of oral evidence was carried out in three main regions—the Shortland Islands, southern Guadalcanal (Weather Coast), the Arosi district of west San Cristobal, and in the Sie Sie or the Kwaio district on west Malaita (Figure 1). Information was collected through oral interviews from participants and as such may be classified as oral testimony or oral history. This paper will provide a description of the methods used in collecting information on the involvement of Solomon Islanders in commerce prior to World War II; the rationale for the adoption of this technique and finally, the usefulness of the data obtained. For two reasons, the emphasis will necessarily be on the practical side of collecting testimonies: 1) The increasing trend among modern historians to use oral accounts including both tradition and testimony² and 2) the absence of specific guidelines for the novice historian.³ It is too frequently assumed that the student somehow knows or learns along the way how to effectively collect oral history. In fact, this often happens when the investigator concerned is fortunate enough to have some background in human geography, sociology or anthropology. But it is not uncommon, even at the present time, for students of Pacific History to go into the field with little or no training in the basic techniques of collecting oral testimony.

Advantages

This method of collecting oral history is applicable, not simply to the collection of personal employment data, but to a wide number of situations, especially where quantitative information is required for comparative purposes.⁴ Even though such information is inevitably a sample, if for no other reason than because it has been gathered only from the survivors of events which occurred thirty to sixty years ago, nonetheless, its validity is proportionate to the extent of the geographic region canvassed,

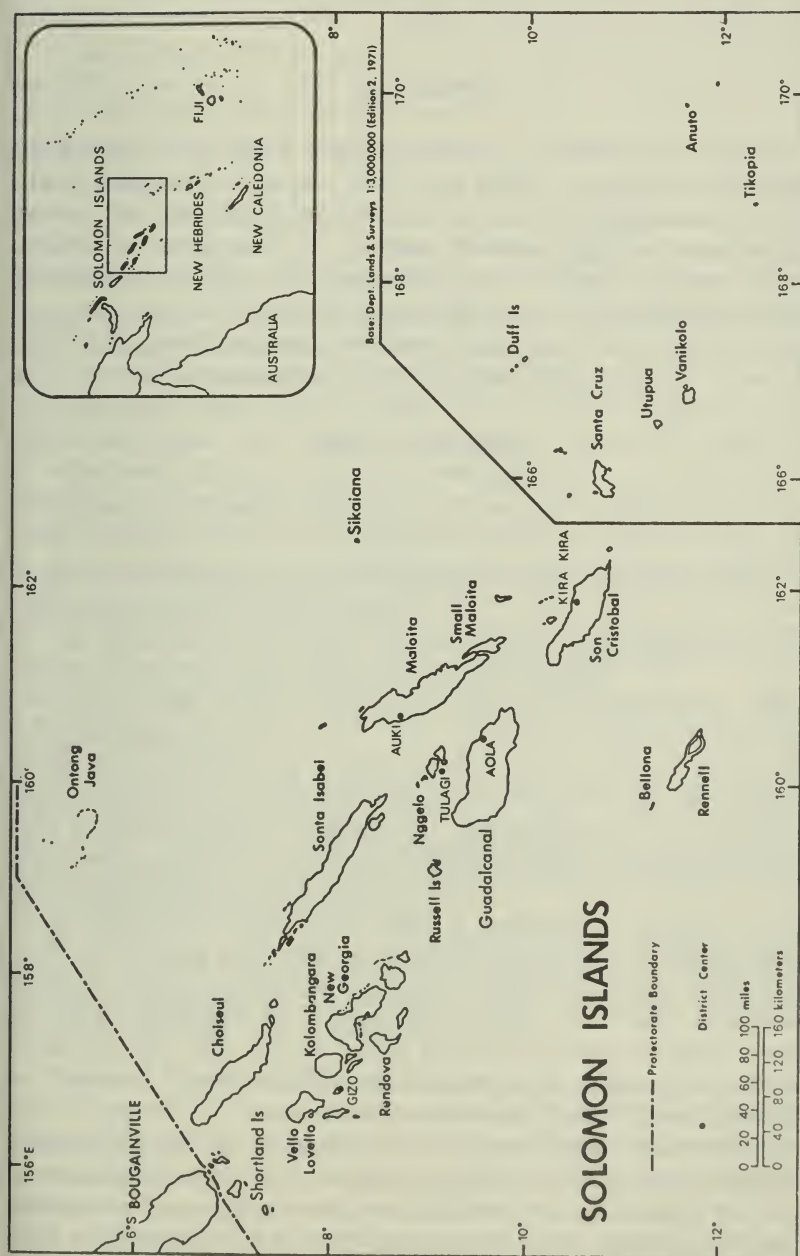


Figure 1 Solomon Islands, c. 1920

the numbers of informants to the appropriate age cohort and the constant testing of the data for internal consistency.

Methodology

The key to the effective gathering of data from oral sources is the preparation mode prior to field work. This cannot be overstressed. The researcher should prepare by 1) gaining a working knowledge of the dominant language or *lingua franca*, 2) studying all ethnographic and anthropological writings related to the people involved in the research, and 3) reading and assessing all known documentary sources. The first prerequisite is so essential as to not warrant extensive comment. Even a halting attempt at the language will be appreciated by informants and fluency soon comes in the field if one lives in a village situation. The second prerequisite, if done well, should provide the researcher with enough knowledge of the society, for the establishment of rapport and the formulation of questions acceptable to the people under study. Moreover, a knowledge of the society confers an understanding of the values and attitudes necessary to interpretation. The third prerequisite, an extensive knowledge of written sources, is too often postponed until after field work, and results in the realization that a lot more questions should have been asked of informants. A Pacific historian these days rarely has the time or the money to make second and third visits to the field to fill in gaps in the data he/she failed to collect on the first visit. Even when this is possible it is likely that some informants will have died or moved away. It is extremely difficult to say just how much time should be spent in preparation. Nine months to a year is a minimal time period, however, for preparation prior to field work on the Islands. It would be difficult to justify less time if the student is unfamiliar with the people, and if the topic concentrates on significant indigenous involvement in events. Thus, say, a study of European colonial society in a particular period in the Solomons would pose different problems to a study of the effect of colonial labour policy on village communities. The focus in the first would be the Europeans, while the Solomon Islanders would be central to the second. The relative importance of oral testimony from the Solomon Islanders would be greater in the latter although still of some value to the former.

Familiarity with documentary sources also gives the researcher a basis for selecting field-work sites. In my case, the entire Solomon Islands was my area of interest, but with constraints on time and finance, the number of sites that could be visited was limited. Through information from written records, I was able to select specific regions which would reveal most

clearly any differences in patterns of involvement with and response to European commercial activity.

With a detailed knowledge of what the written record holds, the researcher is also in a position to formulate a series of questions on topics about which the record is silent, or which are likely to be seen in a different perspective by Island informants. In my case, the questions, drawn up before field work, were modified early in the research, a normal pre-testing procedure. In addition, they were varied slightly according to local differences. For example, a woman who never left her home district in her lifetime would not be questioned as to her experiences of wage labour, but rather as to the effects of her husband being absent from the village. Although the final form of the questionnaire was slightly different from the first, the basic check list remained the same.

The Questionnaire

Questions primarily focused on the following:

- a. The experiences of men and women on plantations and in other paid employment away from the village.
- b. The involvement, at village level, of people in the commercial sector or other non-subsistence employment (e.g., catechist).
- c. The effect on village life of men's plantation employment (women's viewpoint included).
- d. The place of birth and residence as indicative of access to certain opportunities (e.g., people living in inland or "bush" areas could not produce copra as coastal or "saltwater" people could), and as evidence of major life changes (e.g., many "bush" people moved to coastal settlements following conversion to Christianity).
- e. The impact of World War II. This was beyond the scope of the time span set, but was used as a stimulus for highlighting the contrasts with pre-war employment and for eliciting attitudes to colonial policies and plantation employers (see Appendices I and II).

The main advantage of having a standard set of questions is that the data so gained become comparable, making it possible to recognize within the one group of informants how widespread a particular phenomenon is, or whether it is idiosyncratic or general. On a macro-level, comparisons between regions may reveal differences or similarities which provoke a deeper level of inquiry into causation than documentary sources have stimulated.

Prior to my field work I had an extensive correspondence with Solomon Islanders in the government and in the geographic areas in which I hoped to work. This was done in order to obtain both the people's permission and their support. Once I arrived in the Solomons I first contacted representatives from the selected sites. Following this a number of announcements were made on the radio explaining the nature of the research. Once at the sites I had long discussions with village and community leaders to answer any queries they might have had and then went about seeking suitable interpreters.

While in any given area I worked consistently with the one interpreter or liaison officer who was either a member of the Legislative Assembly, a local councilor, or former councilor. These individuals knew their own area well and knew where likely informants could be found. I had worked in the Solomons before in 1972 and could speak fluent Pidgin. When Pidgin failed among the old men in isolated areas, the interpreter would assist. I was especially fortunate in having intelligent, interested interpreters who were well acquainted with what I wanted and who were willing to practice several "trial runs." Few older women could speak Pidgin, so when interviewing them I was usually assisted by younger female interpreters. I was also conscious that some men, due to their relationship to women and the concomitant social proprieties, could not ask some questions without embarrassment.

All interviews were tape-recorded. The presence of a portable cassette tape-recorder though inhibiting to many Westerners, was actually an aid to rapport. Everyone was curious to hear their own and their friends' voices. Interviews in almost every case were conducted in the informants' village or home among relatives and friends who provided a stimulus and a means of cross-checking information. Discussion among such people jogged memories and clarified points of fact. This group interviewing method was more productive if children were absent, something not always possible to arrange unfortunately.

Generally speaking, the interviews were "directed" since the questionnaire, which I soon memorized, was the basis for discussion. However, when informants were particularly interested in one topic or related issues a non-directive approach prevailed temporarily.

All interviews were subsequently transcribed into English, but the demands of economy and the logistics of interviewing approximately 160 people, some for several hours over a couple of days, meant I had to re-use cassette tapes after transcribing the contents. A better method would have been the use of a reel-to-reel recorder located in my village base, as a data base for the cassette material. Transcripts are useful but with the

verbatim account a more perfect oral record would have been preserved for use by other scholars.

A major problem during the gathering and collating of data is the dating of events and the fixing of people and places in time. Most Melaneans who were adult before World War II do not conceptualize time in numerical years in a calendrical sequence. This difficulty was overcome by the use of two simple techniques. The first and most utilized "essentially involves the linkage of recollected *public* events with *personal* activities or events which occur within a known and restricted age range."⁵ This is sometimes known as the "historical calendar" method. In order to discover the *public events* of a particular region, one must be familiar with the written records. Thus a researcher can obtain the information necessary to construct the calendar. This brings us back to the absolute necessity for careful preparatory research in the documentary material prior to fieldwork. The historical calendar sets up a date and an event which would be known by most people in a specific area—in this example, southern Guadalcanal (see Appendix III). From this, the dating of "personal activities or events," such as a person's first recruitment for a plantation, or time of marriage, can be done with some accuracy. Of course, when a person went beyond his district for work, public events or "markers" specific to that area would be used—such as the name of a particular government labour inspector or district officer stationed there (see Appendix IV) or some dramatic occurrence like an earthquake, a shipwreck, or a murder.

For example, an old man from Duidui (on the Weather Coast of Guadalcanal) said his first employment as a labourer was when he went as a young man to Papatura plantation on Santa Isabel, where he was treated very well, being nursed through a serious illness by the European manager. A number of questions arose, including who owned the plantation, and just when all of this happened. If the last question could be answered, the first could be ascertained from information in the written record. I assumed by his appearance that the man was at least seventy years old, so I asked him if he was recruited before or after Mr. Lees came as a missionary to the nearby village of Inakona. He replied that Mr. Lees came soon after. I then asked if it was after the government came to Aola (district station, Guadalcanal). He said no, that the government was still only at Tulagi (the capital on Ngela). This would make his date of departure between 1912 and 1914. Several other questions could have been asked to check this—for example, the name of the recruiting ship and/or its captain, (as all recruiting ships were listed in government records); the name of the government officer who witnessed his indenture at Tulagi, or the

name of the government inspector who visited the plantation. If there was no inspector this too would confirm that his employment was prior to 1916 when plantation inspections became regular annual events.

In addition to the historical calendar method another technique was used when only one or a general date marker was known for a certain area. A case in point was trying to date the visit of the first local (not overseas) labour recruiter to a Weather Coast village. An informant stated that he was born during that year, so his father told him, and that he remembered being a small boy when Mr. Lees came to Inakona in 1912. He was then asked to point out a child of approximately the same size from the village audience. I assigned an age to this specified child as I knew from baptismal, immunization and council certificates how old the child was. In the above example, if the informant was reckoned to have been about seven years of age when Lees came to the central coast, and if the recruiter first came to the village in the year of the informant's birth, then the approximate date of this recruiting visit was 1905 (1912 minus seven years).

Initially, data obtained during interviews were verified or rejected according to internal consistency. Consistency between informants on common matters was also tested. Higher reliability was placed upon information confirmed by other informants and/or written records. Generally, there were very few directly contradictory statements about factual events, but there were some omissions of certain aspects or details of events as reported by different individuals.

Rationale

It seems almost superfluous to have to justify the use of oral testimony. The discipline of history requires that all available evidence of value be studied and assessed. Whether that evidence is a chance set of letters that survived the ravages of time or the remembered experiences of a participant matters little. Both are only samples; both are pieces of a much larger jigsaw puzzle. Both have inherent bias but both are susceptible to checking by basically similar methods.

The aim in gathering data from the testimony of Solomon Islanders was simply to find out their impressions and experiences—experiences which were not recorded elsewhere. This is not a method that is solely applicable to studies of non-western, traditionally pre-literate peoples. It is a method that can and ought to be used for all those silent, non-literate or non-literary groups of people who remain hidden from the wider history of society. While research along these lines is not entirely new, it has only

flowered in the last decade or so in Australia—the James Cook University's oral history project being a good example.⁶

In the case of the Solomons, however, the need to obtain this kind of information was even more important because almost all documentary sources had been written by English or Australian-born Caucasians. Their cultural background, plus the colonial ethos of the pre-war period, meant that they were either, at best, insensitive to Solomon Islander perspectives or, at worst, totally ignorant of them. Thus, while the general justification for the use of oral testimony is the need to achieve balance, there are also specific areas where this information was particularly significant. In some cases, the oral evidence was the only source available. On other issues, the oral evidence reinforced the deductions made from documentary sources. But most importantly, oral evidence, while rarely contradicting the basic framework of an event, frequently revealed a strikingly different perspective from that of the written account.

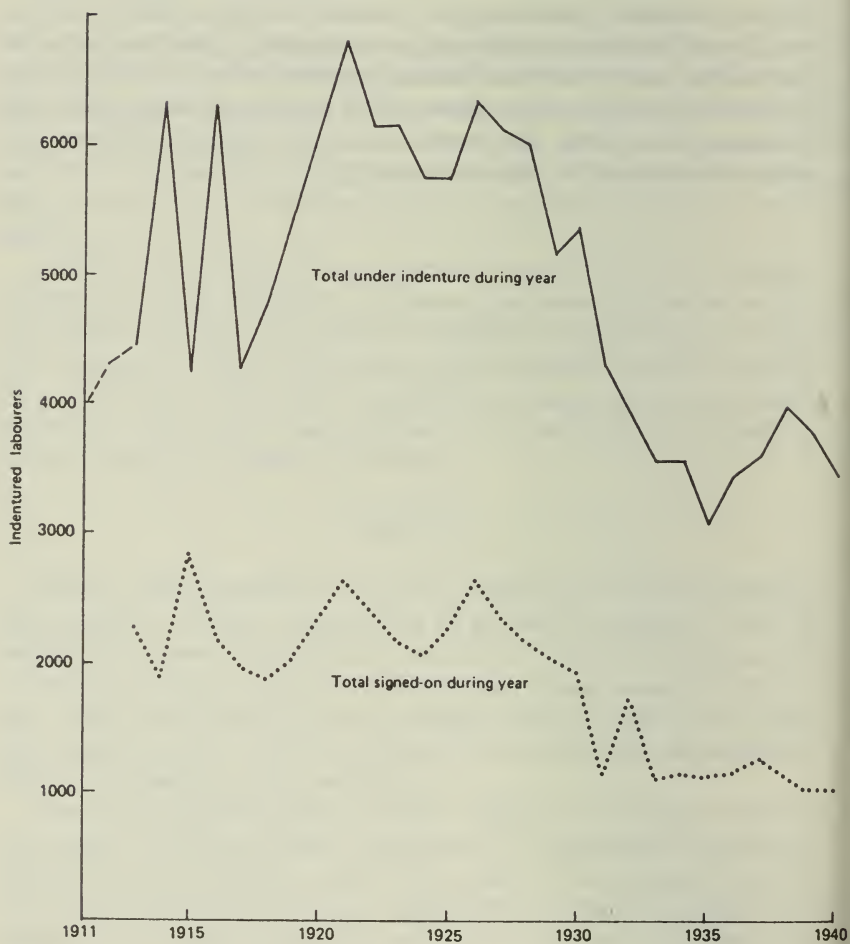


Figure 2. Indentured labourers on Solomon Islands plantations, c. 1911-1940.

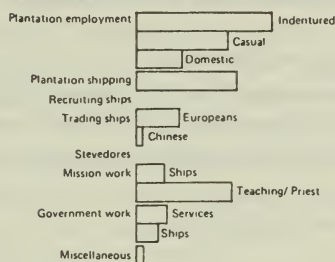
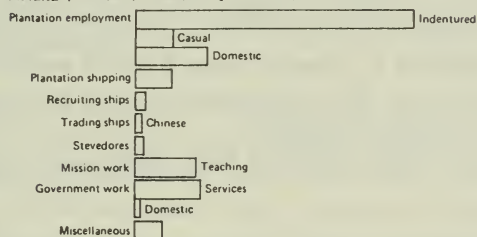
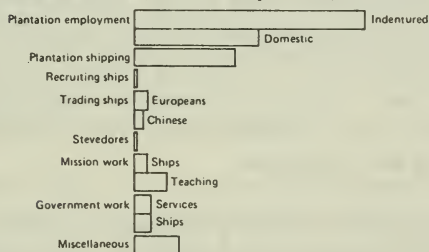
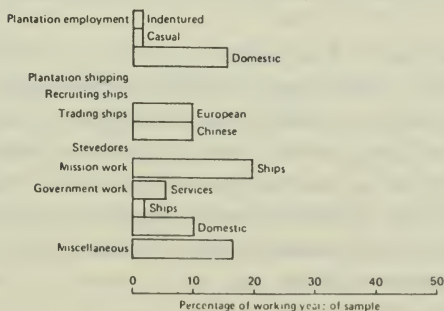
San Cristobal (126.33 years; 33 men; average number of years worked - 3.82)**Malaita** (201.5 years; 27 men; average number of years worked - 7.46)**Guadalcanal** (315.45 years; 32 men; average number of years worked - 9.85)**Shortland Islands** (113.58 years; 17 men; average number of years worked - 6.68)

Figure 3. Employment patterns of male informants from San Cristobal, Malaita, Guadalcanal and the Shortland Islands.

Usefulness of Data from Oral Testimony

To assess this a few examples from the information gained from interviews will be examined. These examples with the experiences of men and women on plantations and in other paid employment away from the village will be discussed under the three specific categories:

1. Oral evidence the only source available.

Surviving government records on labour recruitment provide only the total number of men under indenture each year and the number signing on each year (Figure 2), along with the total signing on from each island. There are no statistics to calculate overall labour mobility, especially in non-plantation work, or the total number of years men spent in paid employment away from their villages.

Using the information collected from informants (Figure 3) it can be seen that:

(a) The men from Guadalcanal and Malaita spent a large proportion of the most productive years of their lives away from the village. Although the Shortland Islanders spent almost as much time in paid employment as the Guadalcanal sample, they were either employed near their villages, or the owners of the ships on which they worked lived in the Shortland area. Thus, their involvement in village society was maintained.

(b) Shortland Islanders worked in a greater variety of tasks and developed a larger range of skills than all other groups in the sample.

(c) Most Malaitans in this sample were formerly bushmen. This meant they were usually pagan and therefore fearful of female pollution. This explains their comparatively low level of domestic employment in European households. Moreover, when they had domestic employment on the plantation it was usually with a bachelor European. Being bushmen, they also had little knowledge of the sea and sea-craft, could not swim and hence rarely sought employment on ships.

(d) San Cristobal men were discouraged by their elders and big-men from seeking a second contract after the initial period. This

prohibition was sustained by the availability of casual labour on the plantations of non-company, individual European planters who treated their labour fairly. The one-contract trend among the San Cristobal men and their frequent initial ignorance of Pidgin meant there were few opportunities for them to be offered domestic work since this was usually offered to promising Pidgin-speaking field hands on the company plantations. Domestic positions on local San Cristobal plantations were filled by women from the neighbourhood. There were no opportunities for local casual labour on Guadalcanal, and very few on Malaita where the sole plantation company was not a popular employer among neighbouring Malaitans.

This kind of quantitative material, together with other qualitative information, provided a basis for later generalizations about the social and political repercussion of the labourers' experience in the colonial economy. This experience was influenced by social, economic, ecological and geographical factors specific to certain groups. Such information was unavailable in the written records. Certainly, some of the wider conclusions might have still been drawn from the written records alone, but never with the same degree of confidence and sensitivity to local variations.

2. Oral evidence reinforcing other evidence.

(a) In the years 1921–23 the government imposed a head-tax on adult males. Part of the rationale behind this was to increase the number of labourers available for plantations. This had only a marginal effect on the numbers employed because the ceiling for available labour had already been reached. Thus, it could be argued that the tax was not an incentive for men to seek work. Only a few records indicate that it was an incentive to some men and significantly enough, the oral evidence supports this. The primary reasons for many men to seek employment was to earn enough money not simply for their tax, but for the tax for all their male relatives between sixteen and sixty who were at home and with no other means of earning money. Before 1922 wage-labour had been a means of getting a few necessities and extra comforts for the labourer and his relatives. There had always been some element of community support. However, with the tax there was now a strong obligation to work exerted on the young.

(b) The oral evidence also confirmed the widespread use of violence against and by labourers. Both kinds of evidence—oral and documentary—revealed that despite its legal prohibition planters used violence against the men. This generally was accepted provided that the labourer concerned was in the wrong and knew it, and that the violence committed did not cause serious physical harm. But the informants had proportionately more to say than the documents about the labourers' use of violence to rectify an injustice. It is probable that many such occasions went unnoted in the documentation either because the European did not like to admit he had been bested or, more commonly, because the labourers had "set-up" the European so that their attack on him would look like self-defence to a magistrate.

3. Oral evidence revealing different perspectives and perceptions of events.

(a) In their recorded assessments of pre-war Solomon Islanders, contemporary Europeans, with a few notable exceptions, reveal to the historian far more about their own racial attitudes than the personalities of the Solomon Islanders. In the written records Islanders emerge as docile, rebellious, stupid, cunning, lazy, inferior, arrogant, filthy, superstitious, childish, morose, careless and so on. Such a list is indicative of the colonialists' image of those they oppress. But does this colonial racism exist only in the eye of the historian, or were its behavioral correlates realities for Solomon Islanders? Again and again the oral evidence shows it was very real for them. Old Shortland Islands men remember how a district officer there used to demand that the people wash their coins for the tax before presentation to him. If he touched dirty money or shook hands with a Shortland Islander he would wash his hands where all could see. Men told of how throughout the Protectorates, government officers demanded Solomon Islanders address them as "Sir." A San Cristobal crewman on the government ship lost his job because he kept a pipe in his mouth while speaking to the government officer. A very old Guadalcanal man remarked on the inequity of a system that hanged a Solomon Islander for killing a European yet permitted the European killer of a Solomon Islands plantation labourer to leave for Sydney on the next steamer.

(b) Turning to another example: the labourers' traditional religious and social framework gave them a different perception of "death from illness" to that of their "master." In order to protect themselves from illness and other material and non-material dangers, pagans frequently brought to the plantation some relic or item closely associated with their ancestral spirit's shrine in their home area. They would hide this article in the roof of the labourers' house, or in the bush adjacent to the plantation and pray to this spirit in time of need and religious worship. This belief in the involvement of the ancestral spirits, so common in Melanesia, frames the Solomon Islanders' perceptions of many events. For instance, when a labourer died on the plantation in the 1930s, the European medical opinion was that death was due to the *beriberi* caused by a diet consisting almost entirely of polished rice (thiamine deficiency). The man's friends thought differently. They knew he had failed to make a propitiatory offering to his ancestor before leaving home to work on the plantation. This was his punishment.

(c) Nor was it simply a matter of European-Solomon Islander dichotomy in perspective and values, as the oral evidence proved. Pagan male Malaitans have many prohibitions to prevent themselves from being polluted by females. Thus the Malaitan "boss-boi" at one plantation forced the wife of a Guadalcanal man to go deep into the bush to give birth, to avoid any contamination of the Malaitan labourers' living quarters. With no advance preparations for such a birth the woman lost the child. To defy the Malaitans and protect the woman during her next confinement the planter allowed her to use his house near the labour compound and refused to re-hire the "boss-boi" at the end of his contract. This pagan Malaitan attitude to women was viewed with distaste by Christian Guadalcanal men who had long before abandoned such beliefs. This value conflict between labourers on plantations where there were some women with their husbands, was often the cause of many disputes and fights which planters simply attributed to "woman trouble."

CONCLUSION

For several years now oral sources have been used to complement the written documentation. Moreover, the historical calendar technique for

dating is an old one and is extensively used by demographers. It can be applied to a variety of events described in all types of oral testimony besides the specific case outlined in this discussion.

The technique of sampling, which forms the basis of my methodology with the histories of Solomon Islanders, is the technique of samplings so favoured by sociologists. It is in fact a sociological method applied to the past rather than the present. Questionnaire construction and part of the pre-testing was done from the documentation. By using a consistent set of questions focused around a number of major topics, data were obtained that were comparable both on a quantitative and qualitative level. However, this technique does have its limitations. The researcher is tied very closely to the basic format, although, of course, there is no ban on supplementary information. Moreover, in gaining the breadth of vision inherent in comparative studies, one sacrifices the fine grain of the variation within a small community, something which would be of more interest to the anthropologist or either the local-area or tribal historian. But while this is an acknowledged sacrifice it is one which was made quite purposely because of the time-place scope of the original research. My study was a macro-history and thus the methods used were appropriate to the level of generalization intended. It was a method of particular value in analyzing the variety of experiences and responses to a common process in the cross-cultural context and would be applicable to investigating the processes of wage-labour, village relocation, missionization or cash cropping, of so much interest to the Pacific historian.^o

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NOTES

1. Judith A. Bennett, *Wealth of the Solomons: A History of Trade, Plantations and Society in the Solomon Islands, c. 1800-1942*, Ph.D., ANU, 1979.
2. J. W. Davidson, "Problems of Pacific History," *Journal of Pacific History*, 1 (1966), 5: H. E. Maude, "Pacific History—Past, Present and Future," *Journal of Pacific History*, VI (1971), 7.
3. This deficiency has not been remedied by a forthcoming publication edited by D. J. Denoon, and R. Lacey, *Theory and Practice of Oral History in Melanesia*, publication date 1981 (Personal communication, R. Lacey, October 1980).

4. Judith A. Bennett, "Population Distribution and Village Relocation 1870-1950," in Murray Chapman and Peter Pirie (eds), *Tasi Mauri: A Report on Population and Resources of Guadalcanal Weather Coast*, East-West Population Institute and University of Hawaii (Honolulu 1974), Chapter 2, *Cross Cultural Influences on Village Relocation on the Weather Coast of Guadalcanal, Solomon Islands, c. 1870-1953*, M.A., University of Hawaii, 1974.
5. C. Scott and G. Sabagh, "The Historical Calendar as a Method of Estimating Age: The Experience of the Moroccan Multi-purpose Sample Survey of 1961-63," *Population Studies, A Journal of Demography*, XXIV (1970), 94. This "historical calendar" method was used originally as a field technique in 1865 by Oldenfield working among the Australian Aborigines. (Ibid., 93).
6. *The National Times*, Sydney, Australia, 13-19 July 1980, 43.

APPENDIX 1

Experience of men and women on plantations and in other paid employment away from village.

With the basic set of questions there are additional sets that were used, depending on the nature of the answer to a preceding question. Only a few examples are given and are indicated by square brackets.

- A.
 1. When you first left your village where did you go?
 2. When you finished this what did you do next?
(Asked as many times as required)
 3. So, you came back to . . . and you stayed there? Are you sure you had no other work or stays away from the village after this?
(If negative, sequence is complete)
- B.
 1. When you went first to . . . plantation, what boat did you travel on?
 2. Where did you board the ship?
 3. What was the name of the captain?
 4. Did he give you or your relatives any presents or money?
 5. If so, what and how much?
[What did you do with this money?]
 6. Did anyone else go with you?
[How many and who were they?]
 7. Were you married or single?
[If married, what was wife's attitude to work away from home for two years?]
 8. How did your parents and other relatives feel about this?

9. Why did you go to work on the plantation?
 10. Where did you sign on?
 11. How did you travel from there to the plantation?
 12. Name of ship and captain?
 13. Name of government officer who witnessed indenture?
 14. When you left home who was the government district officer on your island?
- C.
1. What kind of work did you do on the plantation?
 2. Did you know how to do this work before you came to the plantation?
[Who showed you how to do this job?]
 3. How many years did you stay?
 4. What was the plantation manager's name?
 5. What was the "boss-boi's" name?
 6. Where did he come from?
 7. How did you talk to him and men from other islands?
[Where did you learn to speak Pidgin?]
 8. How many men were working on the plantation?
 9. How many from Malaita, Guadalcanal and San Cristobal?
 10. Were there men from any other islands working there?
 11. How many?
 12. Did any groups just do one task (e.g. husking) or were those involved on the one task a mix of men from different islands?
- D.
1. When you arrived at the plantation did you receive any blankets, mosquito nets, soap or anything like that?
 2. What kind of a house did you sleep in?
 3. Were the men in it all from the one island?
 4. What did you eat and drink for breakfast/lunch/dinner?
 5. How many times a week did you eat meat or fish, tinned or fresh?
 6. When did you start and finish work?
 7. Where did you eat?
 8. Who prepared the food?
- E.
1. What was your "master" like to work for?
 2. Was he a good "master" or bad one?
[Who did he punish/hit? When? How did men react? What did "master do?]
 3. Was there ever a serious quarrel or disagreement with the master?
[What was the cause of this?]

4. Did government inspectors visit the plantation?

[How often? What exactly did they do? Did they question the men separately or with the master present? Did the men complain of anything? What did the inspector do about complaints? Were his orders carried out by the “master”? Did your “master” ever have to go to court because of these complaints? What happened there?]

5. If anyone got sick what happened to them?

6. What kind of medicines did you get?

7. Did any men die on the plantation?

8. What caused their death?

F. 1. On Saturdays and Sundays did you work?

2. On Saturday did the “master” or the “boss-boi” give you any extra rations?

3. If yes, (tobacco, matches and soap), what quantity?

4. Did everyone get the same amount?

5. What did you do on Saturday afternoon?

6. What did you do on Sunday?

7. Did you know or talk with any local village people?

[How did you first get to know them? Did you or any of the other labourers exchange fresh vegetables and betel nut from local villagers? What did you give them? How were you able to talk with them? Were they Christians? Were you a Christian then? Did you ever “lotu” with them? Were there any arguments with villagers? What caused these fights? Did any of your group marry a local village woman?]

8. Did the plantation have a store where a man could buy things?

G. 1. Were you on friendly terms with any labourers not from your own island?

2. Were there fights between different groups of labourers or between individuals?

3. What caused these fights?

4. Did any married men bring wives?

5. Were there any arguments because of the presence of women?

6. Why did most married men leave their wives at home?

7. Did any men not from your island ever come to your place for a visit at the end of their contract?

H. 1. When you finished your first contract, why did you (didn't you) sign back?

2. Where did you sign off and get paid?

[If at Tulagi, the capital: How long did you stay there? Where did you stay? Who supplied your food? Did you visit Chinatown? Where did you buy your things? Why did you buy at . . .? Was there any trouble while you were at Tulagi? What was the cause of this?]

3. How did you return home?
4. Name of ship and captain?
5. When you arrived home how did your family and friends react?
6. What goods did you bring home?
7. What did you do with those things?

APPENDIX II

Sample Personal Testimony transcribed from field notes (excerpt only)

Dickie P . . . of Ghaliatu, Malageti, (coastal village), South Guadalcanal.

Work sequence: He went to Baunani for two years as a "new chum." Back to Ghaliatu for six months and then to Yandina for two years. He next went as crew on the vessel, *Royal Endeavour*, for eight years. Returned home for one year following which he worked on BP's *Mindaro* for one year, based at Makambo. Was "boss crew." Came back to Ghaliatu for about ten years. His next employment was on the Chinese ship *Nam-unini* for six months. He returned home. During this time Mr. Allen of Ruavatu set up a village store at Ghaliatu with Dickie in charge. He worked in this store for one-and-one-half years. Mr. Allen got sick and went home and his successor, Mr. Warren, took back the goods and closed the store. He stayed home during the war.

Experience: He left Ghaliatu for Baunani because he wanted to see new things. This was before the tax was imposed. David Sango was still alive. Government officer at Aola was Mr. Norris. He went away in the recruiting boat, *Kumbara*, with Captain Poole in charge. It was Poole who asked him if he wanted to work. Five others went also from Ghaliatu. Prior to this others had been to Baunani, returned and some had died.

Poole told him he would get two shillings and six pence a week as wages or twelve pounds for a two year contract. Poole gave "presents" to Dickie's clan—a small knife, pipe, tobacco, calico, matches and a spoon. His parents and family were upset at his departure, but when the recruit-

er was ready to leave he simply raced for the dinghy and jumped in. The "beach pay" was delivered to his family on shore after he was on board the recruiter's ship. He was taken to Tulagi where he signed on in front of Mr. Bell. On the plantation he was employed in brushing and catching beetles. Coconut palms were still young at this time. Plantation boss was Jack Ireland or Jack Allen. Master was fair. Housing for labourers was a leaf building, on ground, no stumps. Worked from about 6 a.m.-11 a.m., lunch 11 a.m.-1 p.m., worked 1 p.m.-5 p.m. On Saturday worked from dawn 'til lunch time.

Food: 2 hard biscuits and tea in morning. Meat was given out twice a week, but no fresh vegetables. He was satisfied with the ration.

There was a good deal of minor sickness—fever, diarrhea, coughs. Master gave medicines for these. If a man was very sick he was allowed to rest in the house.

On plantation Mr. Allen left and Mr. Latter (Laka?) came. The labourers were from Malaita, Makira (San Cristobal) and Guadalcanal. There were only a handful from Makira. There was no fighting among the labour. Some of the labourers were "mission" (i.e. Christian). Baunani was near a mission station and the missionaries would visit on Sundays. The missionaries included Miss Cronau, Louversen, Miss Dick, Miss Calvin.

The villages near Baunani were led by Alik and Boisave, and they were friendly. However, in those days the plantation owners had to set a guard against the bushmen who tried to shoot the labourers. The government did nothing about this although there was a government officer at Aoke, Mr. Campbell.

The "boss-bois" were Hari Panatovatova, Peter Konina (Guadalcanal man), Willy (Malaita man). Boisave was big man of local village, Baunani. He and Alik negotiated between plantation and bush people. Labourers obtained vegetables and betel nut from villages on Saturday and Sunday. There were a few women on plantation, the wives of Makira and Malaita men.

Before he came to plantation he spoke no Pidgin. At the plantation the white men use Pidgin to talk with labour. As some Ghaliatu men were already on the plantation they helped him learn Pidgin. Some of the men in his own recruitment group had already been to this plantation.

Mr. Campbell came to inspect the plantation every six months. He lined up the men and asked them if the food was adequate, tobacco issue correct, pipes, matches correct and so on. No one ever ran away from plantation because they would only get into the bush which was full of pagans. If anyone complained about conditions Mr. Campbell checked

with master. Despite this, when Campbell had gone, the master sometimes withheld rations of tobacco (non-food) if men did not obey him.

The plantation had a store which opened every day and was run by a European, Mr. Tale or Dave. Store goods include calico, pipes, tinned meat and fish. In those days one could buy 6 pieces of tobacco for a shilling, calico was one shilling a fathom, pipes 6 for one shilling. Money that was spent in store was deducted from pay every three months when pound wages, were advanced and other money held.

No one gambled in spare time, the mission saw to this. Some men spent money in stores, others did not. At this time there were no Chinese traders in the area, being found only at Tulagi.

When he finished at Baunani he went to Aola to sign off. There was a store on a nearby island, Mbara—it belonged to the same company which owned the plantation on Malaita. He signed off in front of the government officer then went and purchased his things. He bought a knife, axes and other things including a big box. These were for his “Chinese” [clan elder] and parents. The storeman was Mr. Cambridge, but the big boss was Mr. Banner. The *Ruana* was the company ship that brought him from Baunani to Aola and then the *Royal Endeavour* under Capt. Poole brought him back home.

When he returned all the people were glad to see him. Although he liked village life he wanted to see new places. Regarding Yandina he wanted to see what it was like as he had heard about it at Baunani.

The *Royal Endeavour* took men from Ghaliatu, Inakona, Malageti, Talise, Koloiula. Beach pay was similar to before. At Yandina he drove a cart pulled by cattle which carried copra and coconuts. The “master” Mr. McKinnon taught him how to do this. The manager at Yandina was Millhouse. He was married. Manager was a good man. There was one master at Lakeru called Mr. Jacky and another [overseer] at Sivoli. The labour told Millhouse that Mr. Jacky treated them badly, beating some of them with a *loia* cane, so he was sacked. This happened with another European.

The Malaitan labourers would fight over any little thing, especially if someone swore at them in Pidgin.

Summary

Using this and the rest of transcript the following table was drawn up:

Job	Place	Duration	Interval	Duration
Brushing and catching beetles	Baunani	2 years	Home	6 months
Drove cart	Yandina	2 years	Home	1 year
Crewman, later in engine room	<i>Royal Endeavour</i>		8 years	
boss crew	<i>Mindaro</i> (BP)	1 year	Home	10 years
boss crew	<i>Naminini</i> (Chinese)	6 months	Home	
Village Storeman	Ghaliatu (home)	1½ years	Home	

This man was in paid employment for fifteen years. Of that, thirteen and a half were spent away from home. This and similar information from other informants became the basis for statistics used to compare the Guadalcanal group with those of other areas (see Figure 3).

Dating from calendar and other information: Norris served only a short term on Guadalcanal, but he was active. He was at Aola in 1915. David Sango was alive in the 1920s, but the *Kumbara* registration record puts the date as before 1920. The year 1915 is also confirmed by reference to Mr. Campbell as an officer on Malaita, where he was officer in command of Police for only that year. Thus Dickie would have left the plantation in late 1917 or early 1918. Calendar for this period shows that there were many complaints regarding ineffectiveness of government and in that year bushmen fired upon the watchmen at Baunani. The Company was owned by members of a famous missionary-planter family in Queensland, the Youngs. This missionary body, the South Sea Evangelical Mission, based operation on Malaita at Su'u, adjacent to Baunani. This explains the influence the mission had on the running of the plantation. Miss Deck was one of the leading missionaries.

On the plantation there was a Mr. Davis who at times also managed a neighbouring plantation. At this period also the Company was told to improve its labour accommodation.

Remarks: Both throughout the excerpt quoted and in the rest of his testimony, Dickie P. revealed a very accurate recall of names, people, places, events which matched with the documentation. This, along with cross checking from the data of other informants, made me feel confident that he was a reliable informant on matters which were not specifically documented—e.g. tobacco ration being stopped as a punishment, the mediating activities of Alik and Boisave, the lack of gambling, the goods brought home, his parents' and clan's attitudes, the time he was employed in the village and so on.

EDITOR'S FORUM

EDUCATION, CHANGE, AND ASSIMILATION IN NINETEENTH CENTURY HAWAII

by William E. H. Tagupa

Education in nineteenth century Hawai'i effected dramatic changes in cultural behavior in the Hawaiian population, all within a period of a little more than two and a half generations. It is the purpose of this essay to analyze the influences and policies of formal education upon the Hawaiians in two major aspects: 1) the role of education as a civilizing and socializing institution through which changes in behavior were altered or eliminated and 2) the role of education in the gradual elimination of the Hawaiian language.

The arrival of the first missionary company of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (A.B.C.F.M.) in 1820 marked the beginning of an important phase in Hawaiian history. The overt purpose of the American missionaries was clear. They would teach "industry by the aid of art, science, and piety" as well as "rear the altars of Jehovah and establish institutions, civil and literary, for the improvement and happiness of a people now barbarous and wretched."¹ The initial attraction of the Hawaiians (particularly the principal chiefs) to the missionaries was long-standing interest in the ability of the foreigners (*haole*) to transact by means of paper and script. As early as 1809, only thirty-one years after contact with the western world, Hawaiian interest in acquiring literary skills was noted, although resident foreigners were not willing to impart such knowledge.² The political value of literacy was clearly recognized by Liholiho, the ruling chief of the islands, who initially ordered that literacy (*palapala*) be taught only to chiefs and favored commoners.³ Indeed few of the chiefs were "delighted at the idea of being able to communicate their thoughts to friends at a distance" without hazarding misunderstanding.⁴ To that effect, the chiefs intended to monopolize the *palapala* for themselves.⁵ Only through adamant insistence by the missionaries did the chiefs relent in their initial strategy.

Missionary acquisition of the Hawaiian language was a laborious but deliberate process. The arrival in 1822 of William Ellis of the London Missionary Society was a fortuitous occasion for the American mis-

sionaries. Ellis, a printer by trade, had spent six years in Tahiti acquiring fluency in the cognate Polynesian language. For approximately two years Ellis instructed his evangelical colleagues in the fundamental principles of the Hawaiian language. After the missionaries achieved some linguistic proficiency, the arduous and occasionally disputed process of producing a standardized Hawaiian orthography (*Pi-a-pa*) commenced.⁶ Literacy was the primary by-product of the missionary system. The initial popularity of the *palapala* was due to a large extent to the prevailing belief that the material and technological advantages of the *haole* was linked to the *pala-pala*—a sort of word magic.⁷ As far as the Hawaiians were concerned “the real difference between their culture and the European was that theirs was non-literate, the other literate. The key to the new world with all its evident power was the written word.”⁸ Formalized education underwent considerable travail during its inaugural years largely as a result of Hawaiian misunderstanding of literacy and its true value. School master Reverend Lorrin Andrews remarked:

The ideas of natives as to what the nature of instruction is has been and probably is now to a great extent a hindrance to improvement. The opinion is almost universally prevalent, that the whole of instruction and the benefit to be derived from it, consist in being able to read, or saying over the words in a book, or out of it, as the case may be, with very little or no regard to the meaning. . . . While, therefore, as before, it may be admitted that some few have gained real matter for reflection from what they have committed to memory, it is very evident that a vast majority of the scholars rest perfectly satisfied with their attainments when they have the words in their memories. This is manifested by the avidity with which they commit to memory long lists of names contained in genealogies, and even abstract numbers; and when it is done feel as fully rewarded for their trouble, as though they had gained a new chapter on morals or religion.⁹

Once such misconceptions on the mystical value of the *palapala* were realized, Hawaiian interest in education and Christianity faded dramatically.¹⁰ Though missionary alarm over such developments became evident, they focused their energies in preparing a select group of students for leadership roles in the forthcoming evangelical society. The establishment of the Lahainaluna Seminary in 1831 was the first step in the creation of an educated elite. The primary purpose of the Seminary was to produce “well qualified teachers.”¹¹ In addition, the Seminary served to:

- 1) aid the mission in order to "introduce and perpetuate the religion of our Lord . . . with all its accompanying blessings, civil liberty, and religion.
- 2) disseminate "sound knowledge throughout the islands, embracing general literature and science, and whatever may tend to elevate the whole mass of people from their present ignorance and degradation; and cause them to become a thinking, enlightened and virtuous people."¹²

By 1836 Lahainaluna was converted into a boarding school patronized by the chiefs who provided food subsidies and land grants. In advancing literacy, the most important contribution of the Seminary was the initiation of Hawaiian journalistic history with the publication of (Ka) *Lama Hawaii* (The Hawaiian Luminary) in 1834. The purposes of the newspaper were:

- 1) to give the scholars "the idea of a Newspaper—to show them how information of various kinds was circulated through the medium of a periodical."
- 2) to communicate "ideas on many subjects . . . such as we should not put into sermon nor into books written formally for the nation."
- 3) to serve as a "channel through which the scholars might communicate their own opinions freely on any subject they chose."¹³

Other institutions were also established in support of Lahainaluna. The successful Hilo Boarding School was instituted in 1836, serving as a "feeder" school for Lahainaluna.¹⁴ The following year the Female Boarding School was founded at Wailuku, Maui, an event which marked commitment to distaff education of Hawaiian women. The unique purposes of the school were:

- 1) the training of females "who may become suitable companions for the young men educated in the Seminary at Lahainaluna" which was a "consideration of incalculable importance."
- 2) "suitable training of females" in household employment.
- 3) the "reformation" of "uncleanly, indolent and vicious" habits which contributed to high infant mortality.¹⁵

As late as 1855 the importance of female education was reiterated and noted by one commentator to have achieved some success:

It is doubtless to be looked for, mainly in the progress of true religion, of sound education, and civilization in all its various forms; but . . . something more direct and specific in the way of female education than we now have would tend greatly to improve the domestic condition of natives. To be convinced of this, one needs only to visit the houses of those native females who have been educated in the female seminary at Wailuku, and observe their domestic conditions and how superior it generally is to that of others who have had no such training. What the Hawaiian people want is *mothers, mothers, mothers*, to train the sons and daughters to reign in the domestic circle, and make homes, quiet, well-ordered, clean and happy homes.¹⁶

A dominant pedagogical theme which persisted throughout the "select" school system was instruction and practice in the nobility of the work ethic. As noted by one education official:

The inculcation of industrious habits upon the native children is slow and difficult work. Indolence is natural to man; industrious habits are to be acquired, and when parents are indolent, and do not appreciate industry, as is unhappily to be much the case here, the work of training their children to the love of labor is doubly difficult and must be necessarily slow.¹⁷

In 1885 such a policy was restated, reaffirming that morality was part of the educational function.

The public teacher who neglects the moral culture of his pupils, fails to perform his whole duty. . . . The nature of children can not be properly developed and cultivated without that moral instruction which teaches them industry, honesty, sobriety, chastity, and reverence for their superiors and rulers; and all the other virtues which are an ornament to society; and the basis of every good government.¹⁸

It was clear that not only did education serve subject matter instructional purposes but that it also was used to change and socialize the Hawaiians into the New England view of fervid, well-ordered life and behavior. In attempting to inculcate a regimented form of learning behavior among the Hawaiians, the missionary influenced educational system was

partially successful in producing and certifying a cadre of educated elite who were prepared to play important roles in public life. The missionary-induced educational system represented the primary motives and purposes inherent in evangelical proselyting. Implicit in such endeavors was the belief that Christianity possesses a universal validity for any society to emulate. Education, the process of inducting the maturing individual into a new heritage, therefore becomes a part of acculturation or perhaps domestication of individuals who must learn things from the school which others have already learned. Though the missionary-influenced educational system conceived of itself as propagating a particular religion, it was in fact propagating a particular culture which required changes in behavior and attitudes much of which exceeded the bounds of reasonable demands.

The educational system did not have solely evangelical purposes. There was an abiding strain of philanthropy which compelled a more flexible response to community needs and which required pedagogical attention. The large number of non-missionary foreigners and the growing number of mixed-blooded children and orphans invoked a more secularized reaction from the missionary community. In 1833 the Oahu Charity School was founded, an event which signaled a mild *rapprochement* between the feuding missionary and commercial elements in Honolulu. The initial question raised was whether the medium of instruction should be English or Hawaiian. Those that favored Hawaiian argued that any "invidious distinction" between children based on linguistic differences should be avoided. To the contrary, those who favored English felt that the "half-caste children" are "one in their character and in their interests with the foreign population." Therefore, "the only question under the existing circumstances was, whether they should be taken, and by proper cultivation, be prepared for usefulness and duty in the world, or by being left to baleful influences to which they were exposed, be fitted to become the pests and curses of society."¹⁹ It was clear to the benefactors of the school that the future of the students lay with the commercial community, a circumstance which augured for the future policy direction of education in Hawai'i. In Diell's words:

The commercial interests of these Islands . . . are chiefly in the hands of those who speak the English language. These children are growing up more and more in the use of that language; they have frequent and increasing intercourse with those who speak it. Their future usefulness and prospects of success in various departments of business depend, in no small measure, upon the

degree of their acquaintance with the English language. Indeed, situated as they are, such knowledge may be regarded as indispensable, if we would but leave them to be blanks in society, or if we wish to raise them up to any higher or more useful employment than that of spending the day in cock-fighting, or riding donkeys, and the night at the bowling alley. If they go to sea, how shall they rise to any higher berth than one before the mast; if they have received no other education, no further knowledge of the English language, then what they have acquired in the forecandle, to enable them to study navigation and such other branches of knowledge as will fit them for a higher education? Or, should they attain stations as apprentices, or as clerks, how could they fill them usefully to themselves, or their employers, (who in cases like these must be foreigners), without such an acquaintance with the English language, and with the elementary branches of education as are to be acquired from the instruction of a school taught in that language.²⁰

The arguments favoring English as the language of instruction prevailed. For the next six years, the Oahu Charity School was the only public institution to utilize English as the mode of instruction.

In May 1838, upon the suggestion of William Richards, the chiefs petitioned Reverend Amos S. Cooke to "teach the young Chiefs of the nation."²¹ The chiefs had refused to send their offspring to the same schools as those of the commoners. There was some resistance to the petition from some of the missionaries because they did not want to encourage distinctions between the chiefs and the commoners.²² It, however, became imperative to educate the young chiefs since the educational sophistication of the general population was increasing and threatening to outstrip that of the chiefs themselves.²³ Instruction in English was determined to be the policy. It was noted that although the students "would have learned more if their studies had been pursued in native (Hawaiian), but from this time forward they will learn a great deal faster. . . . They now use very little native (Hawaiian) even among themselves in common conversation."²⁴ By 1846, it was proudly reported that:

Next to establishing their moral and religious character, in which are involved the interests of the coming generations in the Hawaiian Islands, the first object was to give them a knowledge of the English language, and that object has been so fully attained that some of the young pupils speak the English language better

than they do the Hawaiian. The rudiments of knowledge as usually taught in English schools have been taught here. A commencement has been made in some of the higher branches of knowledge, including geometry, electricity, chemistry and other branches of natural philosophy, algebra, astronomy, general history, etc.

The pupils have made proficiency credible to themselves . . . and may well inspire the highest hopes of their parents and the nation. When time and firm moral and religious sentiment shall have put the finish on their characters, there will be nothing wanting to make them all that a nation can desire or need in rulers.²⁵

Aside from this, the primary challenge to the Cookes in the education of the young chiefs was the imperious behavior of their students. According to Richards:

Children of the Chiefs hitherto have had their own way, and been their own masters. It is yet to be decided whether or not they will consent to be ruled. If they know not how to be ruled, they will never know as they should, how to rule.²⁶

The issue was settled when Alexander Liholiho, the heir to the throne was disciplined by Mrs. Cooke. Alexander's older brother, Moses, protested that such punishment should be meted out to the son of a king, whereupon Mrs. Cooke replied that she was "King of the School."²⁷ The general educational and behavioral strategies employed at the school were successful in producing a new generation of ruling elite. This design needed to be effected on the population as a whole.

As early as 1840, William Richards wrote, "Unless the natives can rise and cope with foreigners in trade, agriculture and various sorts of business, they will never be anything more than heavers of wood and drawers of water to foreigners. But there is hope yet." Later Richards asked:

Why is it that all the trade of our economy and many other kinds of business are conducted by foreigners? Is it because the foreigner has capital and we not? This is not the main reason. Some of the most wealthy foreigners on our shores came here poor; and some of the most prosperous plantations on our islands were commenced by energy and intelligence, and not by capital. Indeed, very few of all the foreigners who are now in prosperous

businesses in our midst brought a large amount of capital with them. It has been acquired by intelligent industry. Let the Hawaiians be equally intelligent and industrious, and they would enjoy numerous advantages from the acquisition of wealth.²⁹

Again in 1853, Richards pushed his case further regarding needed changes in educational policy:

But the intercourse of Hawaiians with those who speak and write the English language has so increased and became so . . . important. So much of the business transactions of the nation is done through the medium of that language.

On my tours around the Islands, I have found parents everywhere, even on the remote island of Niihau, most anxious to have their children taught the English language; and the reason they generally gave was a most sound and intelligent one, that without it—they will, bye-and-bye, be nothing and the white man everything.³⁰

Richards and the government in general were advocating a change, replacing Hawaiian as the language of instruction with English.³¹ The reasons were obvious. The influx of foreigners, especially from California, were integrating themselves into the political, economic, and social life of the islands. Unlike the foreign residents of a decade ago, the new constituency was non-competent in Hawaiian, yet exercised influence over the society disproportionate to their own numbers. The issue for government then became almost paradoxical. Should the predominantly Hawaiian population be linguistically integrated into the dominant language of commerce in the islands? There was no question that the Hawaiian government, with the aid of the educational system, was attempting to inculcate increased Hawaiian participation in the economic life of Hawai'i. To that end, a root change in educational policy was contemplated which required that English be made the language of instruction without mandating that Hawaiian be formally eliminated from the educational system.³² Opposition to such changes was evident:

Experience convinces us (the missionaries) that the useful acquisition of English is, with few exceptions, impracticable for this people, and that while a few choice minds, or those with increased opportunities in White families, may gain a profitable knowledge of it, the sole medium through which the masses are

to be taught and addressed, is that language wherein they were born.³³

Missionary opposition to secularized changes in education was based essentially for pragmatic reasons. A vast corpus of religious literature was published in Hawaiian. Any change in the *lingua franca* of the islands would have a dramatic impact on their congregations and their evangelical purpose. In addition, the fading yet visible missionary community still resented the temporal distractions of urban life and preferred that the Hawaiian remain in agricultural pursuits.³⁴ Proficiency in English would eventually accelerate the move to the port areas of Hawai'i at the expense of the rural communities. Additional resistance took yet another position. The high chief Mataio Kekuanao'a, father of both Kamehameha IV and Kamehameha V, inveighed against any changes to English:

The theory of substituting the English language for the Hawaiian, in order to educate our children, is as dangerous to Hawaiian nationality, as it is useless in promotion of the general education of the people. The true policy of an independent Kingdom should be to encourage a patriotic spirit and a local pride among the people for its language, its King, its laws, and its institutions for the public good. No better way could be devised to destroy those feelings which underlie the stability of all nations than to allow the people to acquire a contempt for their native language; and no better way to teach them that contempt than the establishment by Government of a few expensive and well supported schools for the purpose of giving a foreign language.³⁵

Changes in educational policy in the face of opposition followed a more careful course. Attrition would soon become the governmental strategy in achieving its own desired end. The Education Report of 1880 comments:

The continuance and increase of the public day schools for teaching Hawaiians the English language has been construed to imply the gradual supplanting of the Hawaiian by the English language, and the final extinction of the Hawaiian language; and the Educational Committee (of the legislature) . . . at its last session expressed grave doubts as to the wisdom of such a policy. The Board do not admit in the establishment of English Schools they aim at the suppression of the Hawaiian language. It is not evident that the Hawaiian tongue can be so easily rendered obsolete.³⁶

The Board of Education argued that popular support for English as the language of instruction was as popular now as initially reported by Armstrong:

It has been the settled policy of the Board of Education, for some years past, being in accordance with the general wish of Hawaiian parents, to educate the youth of the country in that language which is the world's great vehicle of thought and commerce. It would be an anomaly, indeed, were they to do otherwise. The English may said to be the prevailing language of the Kingdom, legally and industrially. The decisions of the highest tribunals of the land are in English; the commercial houses keep their books in English; it is the language of the plantation and of industrial arts generally. Can it be a marvel, therefore, that the Hawaiian, the Portuguese immigrant, the Japanese, and the ever conservative Chinaman should give preference, and even demand that English be the main language of the schools.

Through the rapid industrial and commercial development of these islands within the past few years, new conditions have arisen. The old schools taught in the Hawaiian language were good enough in their time. They served their purpose; but like all other things they are out of joint with the times, they must and ought to give place to institutions more in consonance with their environment.

In giving preference, however, to schools taught in the English language, no desire is entertained to suppress the Hawaiian schools or language. Indeed, such is not possible, were it desirable.³⁷

The Board of Education then revealed its social policy in favoring English as the instructional mode:

There are other reasons for English being the language of the schools. Besides the making of good citizens and the giving as nearly as his inherited mental and moral faculties will admit; every child will be given an equal start in the race of life, the public schools are intended to make a homogeneous people. . . .

In the future, therefore, if these heterogeneous elements are to be fused into one nationality in thought and action, it must be by the means of the public schools of the nation, the medium of instruction being the English language chiefly.³⁸

The policy of attrition strategem then turned to a more active form of neglect, bordering on administrative consternation:

The common schools of the country have, in their time, been useful, but their day of usefulness has nearly gone by. The moment that the parents began to earnestly desire that their children should learn English that moment their decay has commenced. They have not only ceased to be useful, but in some cases they have become detrimental. They are useful in places where it is absolutely impossible to obtain teachers who know anything of the English language. . . . In such places funds at the disposal of the Board hardly warrant the expenditure of even twenty dollars a month upon a teacher.

Those schools are detrimental in places where an English school is being established, a few pupils linger on in the native school out of *aloha* for the teacher. The parents send their children till they are from ten to twelve years of age, and they enter them in the English schools. The result is very unsatisfactory. To learn a language thoroughly it must be learned during the tender years.³⁹

By 1896, W. D. Alexander, President of the Board of Education announced that "the schools taught in the Hawaiian language are dead. . . . Petitions are before the Board for the conversion of these schools into English schools and by the next report, Government schools taught in Hawaiian will have no place."⁴⁰ Alexander concluded on a note of triumph:

The work of making English the language of the country is well nigh accomplished. Eight years ago the idea that all the schools could be taught in English was almost scouted. Today it is an accomplished fact. . . . To have accomplished this would be a credit to the Board.⁴¹

A statistical summary of the decline and disappearance of the Hawaiian language schools are in themselves quite revealing in juxtaposition with their English language counterparts.

	Hawaiian Language Schools		English Language Schools	
	Number	Students	Number	Students
1864	240	7,632	13	665
1874	196	5,522	8	846
1884	114	2,841	44	3,489
1894	18	320	107	7,732

The precipitous decline of the Hawaiian language school can not be attributed to the popularity of the English languages schools, but rather to a concerted government policy of neglect and opposition. Maui lost its last school in 1890 and by 1896 the last three of the Hawaiian language schools on Oahu "passed away." The island of Hawai'i still had two left in that year, with predictions that they would be soon closed. Only a single elementary school on Ni'ihau remained as Hawai'i entered the twentieth century.⁴²

Changes in the educational policies in Hawai'i and its assimilative effects can not be examined without reference to concurrent changes in island society as a whole. Initially, Christian philanthropy was the prevailing policy during the early years of formal education in Hawai'i. Fundamentally, the missionaries desired to prepare the Hawaiians properly in the arts and manners of contemporary Christian life. As the strength of the evangelical spirit declined in influence, new developments and outlook began to assume the forefront of policy-making in education. The dominant American community began to forsake the previously long-held policy of maintaining the independence of the Hawaiian kingdom in the face of external adversity and began to seriously consider preparing Hawai'i's people for assimilation into the American body politic.

A major policy change in this latter respect was an educational, political, and social emphasis on the homogeneous nature of island society. The possibility of a multi-lingual community would have been adverse to particular objectives on the verge of being consummated in the political arena. Consequently, among the major targets changed was the use of the Hawaiian language in the public school system. Though education officials continually denied that the suppression of the Hawaiian language was the objective of educational emphasis on English as the mode of instruction, it was equally clear that such individuals were not willing to support a bilingual solution to the question. Therefore, it would be forthright to conclude that assimilation into the American ethos was the primary policy of education.

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30. *Report of the Ministry of Public Instruction* (1853), pp. 58, 66.
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36. *Biennial Report of the President of the Board of Education*, (1880), 9-10. The report outlined two policy reasons for establishing English language schools as being first, to comply with popular demand for instruction in the English language, second, teachers in English were better qualified to upgrade the educational system. *Ibid.*, 10. In 1877, Lahainaluna, the major teacher's institution, switched instruction to English. Wist, *op. cit.*, 94.
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XV PACIFIC SCIENCE CONGRESS

DUNEDIN, NEW ZEALAND

FEBRUARY 1-11, 1983

sponsored by **The Royal Society of New Zealand, Section K**

SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES (Jointly with Indo-Pacific Prehistory Association)

Dr. Foss Leach, Programme Organizer
Department of Anthropology
University of Otago
Dunedin

Special Note:

It would be appreciated if participants addressed detailed correspondence to individual conveners listed below.

1. Historical and diachronic analysis of Pacific Communities

Reconstruction and classification in the Austronesian language family.

Co-conveners: Assoc. Professor A. K. Pawley, Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland, Private Bag, Auckland, New Zealand, and Dr. R. A. Blust, Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden, Stationsplein 10, Postbus 9507, 2300 RA Leiden, Netherlands.

Structural analysis and classification of Papuan and Australian languages.

Convener: Professor S. A. Wurm, Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, P.O. Box 4, Canberra ACT 2600, Australia.

Prehistoric food production systems in the Pacific.

Convener: Dr. D. Yen, Department of Prehistory, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, P.O. Box 4, Canberra ACT 2600, Australia.

Archaeology in Micronesia.

Convener: Dr. Y. H. Sinoto, Bernice P. Bishop Museum, P.O. Box 19000A, Honolulu, Hawaii, 96819, U.S.A.

The origins of food production, metallurgy, and the State in mainland Southeast Asia.

Convener: Dr. D. T. Bayard, Department of Anthropology, University of Otago, P.O. Box 56, Dunedin, New Zealand.

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Convener: Professor R. C. Green, Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland, Private Bag, Auckland, New Zealand.

Studies in pre-European and traditional fishing in the Pacific.

Convener: Dr. A. J. Anderson, Department of Anthropology, University of Otago, P.O. Box 56, Dunedin, New Zealand.

Archaeological science in the Pacific region.

(Jointly with the Society of Archaeological Sciences)

Co-conveners: Professor R. E. Taylor, Department of Anthropology, University of California, Riverside, CA 92521, U.S.A., and Dr. Foss Leach, Department of Anthropology, University of Otago, P.O. Box 56, Dunedin, New Zealand.

Physical anthropology in the Pacific.

Convener: Dr. P. Houghton, Department of Anatomy, Otago Medical School, P.O. Box 913, Dunedin, New Zealand.

The prehistory of Australia and New Guinea.

Convener: Dr. Sandra Bowdler, Department of Prehistory and Archaeology, University of New England, Armidale, N.S.W. 2351, Australia.

2. Anthropological approaches to traditional societies in the Pacific.

Pidgin and Creole languages in the Pacific: past, present and future.

Convener: Professor S. A. Wurm, Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, P.O. Box 4, Canberra ACT 2600, Australia.

Development of the arts in the Pacific.

Convener: Professor S. M. Mead, Department of Anthropology and Maori, Victoria University of Wellington, Private Bag, Wellington, New Zealand.

Cultural connections between the highlands and coastal areas of New Guinea.

Convener: Professor A. Chowning, Department of Anthropology and Maori, Victoria University of Wellington, Private Bag, Wellington, New Zealand.

Maori Studies.

Convener: Professor B. G. Biggs, Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland, Private Bag, Auckland, New Zealand.

Transformations of Polynesian culture.

Convener: Assoc. Professor A. B. Hooper, Department of Anthropology, University of Auckland, Private Bag, Auckland, New Zealand.

Equality and hierarchy in Melanesia.

Convener: Professor J. A. W. Forge, Department of Anthropology, School of General Studies, Australian National University, P.O. Box 4, Canberra ACT 2600, Australia.

Shame, embarrassment and related notions in Micronesian cultures.

Convener: Professor M. Marshall, Institute of Applied Social and Economic Research, P.O. Box 5854, Boroko, Papua New Guinea.

Intercultural History: the ecology of culture contact in the Pacific.

Convener: Professor G. M. Denning, Department of History, University of Melbourne, Parkville, Victoria 3052, Australia.

3. Contemporary problems in changing societies in the Pacific.

Dictionaries for Oceanic peoples.

Convener: Professor A. J. Schutz, Department of Linguistics, University of Hawaii, Moore Hall 569, 1890 East-West Road, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822, U.S.A.

Public archaeology in Pacific countries.

Convener: Mr. J. R. McKinlay, New Zealand Historic Places Trust, P.O. Box 12255, Wellington, New Zealand.

Harmonization of law in the Pacific.

Convener: Mr. J. L. Goldring, School of Administrative Studies, Canberra College of Advanced Education, P.O. Box 1, Belconnen ACT 2616, Australia.

Trends in international relations in the Pacific.

Convener: Professor P. J. Boyce, Department of Politics, University of Western Australia, Nedlands, WA 6009, Australia.

Political developments in Micronesia.

Convener: Professor N. Meller, Department of Political Science, University of Hawaii, Porteus 640, 2424 Maile Way, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822, U.S.A.

The political development of the Pacific community.

Convener: Dr. R. A. Herr, Department of Political Science, University of Tasmania, P.O. Box 252C, Hobart, Tasmania 7001, Australia.

Political continuity and change in the Pacific islands.

Convener: Dr. B. K. MacDonald, Department of Pacific and Southeast Asian History, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University, P.O. Box 4, Canberra ACT 2600, Australia.

Development prospects: policies and problems.

Co-conveners: Professor B. Brogan, Department of Economics, University of Papua New Guinea, P.O. Box 4820, University Post Office, Papua New Guinea, and Mangalam Srinivasan, 3904 Jenifer Street NW, Washington DC 20015, U.S.A.

Pacific trade and investment patterns.

Convener: Professor G. D. McColl, Department of Economics, University of New South Wales, Box 1, Kensington NSW 2033, Australia.

Technology transfer in the Pacific region.

Convener: Dr. N. D. Karunaratne, Department of Economics, University of Queensland, St. Lucia, Queensland 4067, Australia.

Telecommunications in the Pacific: its impact on economic, social, and political conditions.

Convener: Dr. Meheroo Jussawala, East-West Communication Institute, 1777 East-West Road, Honolulu, Hawaii 96848, U.S.A.

Social welfare policies in Pacific and Pacific rim countries.

Convener: Mr. P. A. Day, Department of Sociology, University of Waikato, Private Bag, Hamilton, New Zealand.

Social change and fertility decline in Pacific and Pacific rim countries.

Convener: Professor D. I. Pool, Department of Sociology, University of Waikato, Private Bag, Hamilton, New Zealand.

Urbanisation in the South Pacific and Southeast Asian areas (held jointly with Section C, Geography).

Co-conveners: Dr. R. D. Bedford, Department of Geography, University of Canterbury, Private Bag, Christchurch, New Zealand, and Dr. R. J. W. Neville, Department of Geography, University of Auckland, Private Bag, Auckland, New Zealand.

REVIEWS

Glynn Barratt, *Russia in Pacific Waters, 1715-1825*; a survey of the origins of Russia's naval presence in the North and South Pacific. Vancouver and London: University of British Columbia Press, 1981.

This study is the latest in a growing list of Dr. Barratt's publications about Russians in the Pacific. It is gratifying to see someone using the Russian materials and presenting their story to English readers. Additionally, Barratt has been very successful in gaining access to Soviet archives—not an easy task despite his feeling that it is getting better.

As its subtitle suggests, the real contribution of this study is in its being a survey. There are individual treatments in Russian and some in English of many of the topics Barratt covers. The author, however, has presented for the first time a synthesis of the events, people, and places which shaped the development of the Russian Navy in the North and South Pacific.

Russia's naval adventures began under Peter the Great, founder of the Russian Navy, with a search for a passage between Asia and America. The background of Siberian developments—hunters racing for furs, the need to guard the fur supply from indigenous peoples, and the formation of a government—is portrayed concurrently with the two Bering expeditions. Other topics discussed include the growing trade in sea otters, the contribution of Cook, the establishment of the Russian American Company, the involvement of the Spanish in California and the Pacific, the first Russian circumnavigation under Kruzenshtern and Lisianskii, the role of V. M. Golovnin, and the eventual decline of Russia's Pacific Navy after 1825 under Nicholas I. From the early 1760s, mercantile, governmental, and naval operations became intertwined. Baranov, Sheffer, Rezanov, Delisle, Delarov, Rikord, Traversay, and Nesselrode are some of the numerous personalities whose roles in the naval exploits are recounted.

Barratt points out several patterns in Russia's naval expeditions. Secrecy, the inclusion of non-Slavic participants, and governmental rewards were precedents set by Bering. The Russians later acknowledged their debt to the British Navy for many of its contributions including the training of future Russian commanders, as well as technical training in the use of English instruments and charts. Cook's contributions were considered exemplary. By the time of the Kruzenshtern-Lisianskii voyage, further

precedents included the great prestige assigned such undertakings, the Baltic German participation, the invitations extended to scientists abroad, and the utilization of a largely Russian crew.

Some lessons that emerged from the adventure into Pacific waters included the fact that there were no adequate facilities to service ships, provisionment in Siberia and Russian America was very difficult, and the ruling monarchs did not consider the Pacific a high priority. However, at certain points in time, it was only Russia's perception of how England, Spain, France and the United States viewed her that hindered more aggressive action in the Pacific.

The Navy may have felt victorious when it eventually succeeded in taking over the Russian American Company and became the prime influence on the Council. In the end, however, it was largely due to this very naval influence that the Russian Navy was doomed to a weak role in the Pacific.

The inheritance of these Russian voyages is the discoveries, scientific contributions, and further commercial gains. The wealth of sketches by artists, and ethnographic observations made by those keeping diaries, logs, correspondence and notes languish in Soviet archives.

The book is well illustrated. There are sub-headings throughout the chapters to help follow the narrative. Dr. Barratt's work should be well received by a great many people and libraries. It is certainly impressive in the amount of information presented and in the sources used. Those who will not find as much benefit from this survey are the researchers able to use Russian sources and those more familiar with the field.

Since this is a survey in a broader context, I kept hoping that there might be more attention given to the views and policies of the United States, Britain and France. Good coverage of Spain and her perceptions of the Russians are presented.

Although this account begins with Peter the Great's interest in "all things that relate to seafaring," and with it Triaska's launching of the *Okhota* in 1716, Barratt might have acknowledged the significant role that seafaring played in the exploration and conquest of Siberia. In particular, Semeon Deshnev is believed to have navigated the Bering Sea between Asia and America in 1648.

Some introduction and background to the Admiralty College and its organization and role during the period covered would have been helpful. A brief summary of the developments in the Baltic Fleet, the Black Sea and other areas where the Navy was involved would have enhanced the larger perspective.

Barratt uses 1825, when the conventions with Britain and America were signed, as the turning point toward Russian naval decline in the Pacific. However, there were many voyages after 1825 having just as much "naval" purpose. To list a few—Kotzebue's second voyage on the *Predpriatie*, Wrangell on the *Krotkii*, Staniukovich on the *Moller*, Litke's second voyage on the *Seniavin*, Khromchenko on the *Elena*, and so on.

The treatment of Vasilii Golovnin seems rather heavy-handed and is in one case inaccurate. Golovnin is portrayed as the leader or "arch detractor" in the campaign to force the Russian American Company into fully recognizing the role of the Navy. He is accused of losing his calm objectivity in reporting on the state of the Company's affairs in 1818. In fact, for a number of years the Company had been in a state of decline. Baranov, the manager of the Company for eighteen years, and in ill health for the last few, had finally been replaced. Golovnin, Kotzebue two years earlier, or any one, had merely to describe the obvious. Golovnin was, after all, carrying out orders from the government to make such observations. On page 199, Barratt inaccurately states that Golovnin conferred with Hagemeister in Novoarkhangel'sk. If one checks Golovnin's own account, it is noted that Hagemeister was in California at the time, which Barratt had correctly stated earlier on page 189.

For all the information that is presented—possibly too much—there is often a feeling of needing just that extra bit of explanation or clarification. For example, on page 228 there is a discussion of the conventions. The American Convention is only briefly mentioned, while the British one is presented in greater detail. The date for the British Convention is given, but not for the American one. Since these conventions were such a crucial turning point, according to the author, it seems relevant to include a few paragraphs describing the American and British political situations which forced Russia into this signing. The dates of ship arrivals and departures are often not clear, which makes it difficult to determine how long a ship stayed where. At times, too, the events in the text are rather over-dramatically described.

Lastly, there are some technical problems, which should have been caught in the editing process. The lack of subject approach in the index of people, places and ships is annoying. An explanation clarifying the forms used for German Baltic names in the text and index should have been included in the preliminary notes. Hagemeister is chosen, although Hagemeister is as commonly used in other sources. Additionally, his patronymic is spelled as Adrianovich on page 154 and Andrieanovich on page 187. The Lazarev brothers, Mikhail and Andrei, cause some confusion as well. Andrei is not indexed at all, while Mikhail appears on more pages

than shown in the index. There are some misspelled Russian words. Footnote 19 in Chapter 10 states that an article appearing in the "Friend" was anonymous, yet it was signed by W. D. Alexander. Mr. Skorniakov-Pisarev is indexed under "S," but referred to as Pisarev in the main text. The coverage of the book begins with 1715, but might just as well start with 1716 when the *Okhota* was actually launched.

This book will make a contribution as an overall survey and reference work of Russian naval influence in the Pacific Ocean in the early nineteenth century. Events and peoples are presented in a broader context than has been treated previously in Western or Soviet scholarship. Dr. Barratt has adequately described the Russian naval experience as distinct from the mercantile and political events that shaped the history of the Pacific, yet at the same time also has shown the close inter-dependence of all these factors.

Patricia Polansky
Hamilton Library
University of Hawaii

Robert A. Blust, *The Proto-Oceanic Palatals*. Wellington: The Polynesian Society, 1978. Pp. x, 183, tables, map, bibliography.

Proto-Oceanic (POC) is the reconstructed language ancestral to most of the languages of Oceania and is itself derivable from Proto-Austronesian (PAN), the ancestor of all the Austronesian languages that span the globe from Malagasy to Easter Island. The palatals are those consonants pronounced with the tongue against the hard palate, and Blust's monograph is concerned essentially with determining how many palatals were distinguished by speakers of Proto-Oceanic, and what their reflexes are in contemporary daughter languages. Combining published data with the results of his own survey of languages of the Admiralty Islands, Blust concludes that, contrary to what has generally been accepted, Proto-Oceanic did not merge PAN °n and °ñ, and °j with °s, °c, and °z/Z, but retained °ñ and °j as distinct segments. The claim is justified in minute detail, and its ramifications explored, all of which leads to some stimulating thoughts on the concept of linguistic drift.

The first section deals with the reconstruction of POC °ñ (palatal nasal). Dempwolff—the scholar whose works of fifty years ago laid the foundations for the historical reconstruction of Austronesian languages—cited the merger of PAN °ñ and °n as one of the innovations shared by all

Oceanic languages, and the claim subsequently gained general acceptance. More recently, however, doubts have been expressed by a number of scholars, who noted that Bugotu (Solomon Islands) appears to preserve the distinction between the two nasals. Now Blust presents data from his own survey of the languages of the Admiralty Islands and Wogeo (off the north coast of New Guinea), and refers to data from Epi (Vanuatu), all of which point to the $^{\circ}n/^{\circ}\tilde{n}$ distinction having been retained in Proto-Oceanic. The argument is entirely convincing, and finds independent support from my own work on Fijian Languages, as $^{\circ}\tilde{n}$ remained distinct also in Western Fijian. Blust points out, incidentally, that Dempwolff was aware that the distinction was maintained in at least one Oceanic language, and takes Dempwolff to task for ignoring it. The criticism is justified, but perhaps a little harsh. In view of the general uneven quality of the data available at the time, Dempwolff would have been rash to base a distinction of a couple of lexical items from one or two poorly documented languages, when not one of the better known languages offered support. But, as Blust notes, a footnote at least would have been in order.

While it could be said that $^{\circ}\tilde{n}$ had been waiting in the wings before its entry on the Proto-Oceanic stage, the appearance of $^{\circ}j$ is rather unexpected, and is not likely to be accepted immediately by Oceanic linguists. Again, Dempwolff is shown to have been in possession of—and fully aware of the implications of—data which was incompatible with his claim that all the palatals merged in Proto-Oceanic, and attempted to tidy up the data by arbitrarily excluding the offending languages from the Oceanic subgroup. Blust's own survey of the Eastern Admiralty Islands shows that the $^{\circ}j$ in PAN $^{\circ}n$ ajan "name" and $^{\circ}(\text{CtT})\text{-Sua}(\text{n})\text{ji}$ "sibling of like sex" is reflected differently from the other PAN palatals (merging with the reflex of PAN $^{\circ}d$). Dismissing alternative solutions with exemplary thoroughness, he concludes that Proto-Eastern Admiralties—and, by implication, Proto-Oceanic—retained $^{\circ}j$ distinct from the other palatals. His search for supporting evidence elsewhere in Oceania, however, met with little success, the only glimmer of hope emanating from linguistically intractable Nauru. But, as with $^{\circ}\tilde{n}$, my own work in Fiji led me to suggest, independently of Blust, the possibility of $^{\circ}j$ being reflected distinctly in a language ancestral to the Fijian languages.

The more evidence, however, is accumulated in support of POC $^{\circ}\tilde{n}$ and $^{\circ}j$, the more we are obliged to accept the notion of linguistic drift. If the Proto-Oceanic inventory included these two phonemes, then, under any current subgrouping hypothesis, they must have been lost independently in a large number of separate subgroups. Blust accepts the conclusion, but points out that drift, although hardly discussed in linguistic

literature, is found in many language families, and cites some Austronesian examples. All of this, Blust admits, serves to weaken the argument for an Oceanic subgroup, by reducing the number of shared innovations by two, and by opening up the possibility that other apparent shared innovations are the result of drift.

I would take issue with two minor points. First, contrary to Blust (p. 89), I believe that there is strong evidence for the reconstruction of another palatal, at least at Proto-Eastern Oceanic level (labelled *j in *The History of the Fijian Languages*, to appear as Oceanic Linguistics Special Publication, University Press of Hawaii), approximating to the *nj proposed by Milke. The fact that it has no obvious Austronesian antecedent should not deter us from reconstructing it on internal evidence, as indeed Blust did when he reconstructed its Proto-Central Pacific reflex *c in 1976 ("A Third Palatal Reflex in Polynesian Languages," *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 85: 339–58). Second, while it is useful to have a convention to distinguish between segments reconstructed entirely on internal evidence and those reconstructed with the help of external witnesses, "from the top down," the notation proposed by Blust—the preferred segment in parentheses—only shows that segment of an internally indeterminate pair which is indicated by external evidence; it does not show which other segment could be reconstructed on internal evidence alone. I would prefer giving both segments in parentheses and underlining the one supported by external evidence.

Nevertheless, Blust's "Palatals" is a major achievement, a rare instance of mastery of data combined with the ability to relate findings to wider issues. Obviously, it is not intended for casual reading: heavy on data, footnotes, and references, it is a work for specialists. But even specialists welcome aids to easy reading, and it is regrettable that only one type-face has been used throughout, and that there is scant marking of internal organization: each paragraph, be it introduction, summary, digression, or whatever, is simply numbered serially. Austronesianists, however, having been weaned on the likes of Dempwolff, Milke, and Dahl, will still find Blust's work considerably more "palatable."

Paul Geraghty
Fijian Dictionary Project
Suva

Charles Burdick, *The Frustrated Raider: The Story of the German Cruiser Cormoran in World War I*. Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois

University Press, 1979. Pp. x, 11, 119, illustrations, bibliographical notes, index. \$9.95.

This is a book at times for the *cognoscenti*. If you like war stories, heroism, adventure and history then you will still enjoy it, but to empathize with what is going on you will need to know something about the Germans in the Pacific before 1914.

This book does not give that knowledge. The title might confuse the reader to begin with. It is a tale of two ships of the same name, not the *Cormoran* which took part in the Ponape campaign and punitive expeditions in German New Guinea, but of its successor, a Russian ship captured off Tsingtao in the early days of war and hastily converted into a German raider. Chapter 1, "German Colonial and Naval Policies," conveys a very brief background which is adequate for the immediate story but which is silent about relations between colonial authorities and naval ships in Africa and the Pacific, and about contests for authority and resources between the various arms of the German colonial service. The presentation of Germany's colonial possessions is slightly misleading. Samoa is not in the "extreme south" of the Pacific. Madang was not the "major settlement" of German New Guinea. And the question of whether Germany owned "the smallest and least important specks on the map" is a very relative one. Australians and New Zealanders would hardly have agreed. And most surprisingly there are no maps, either of Pacific colonies or of the wanderings of the *Cormoran*, in an otherwise technically well-produced book.

Still we have here an action-filled adventure story which begins with the practical problems of running a colonial naval police force with an eye to the outbreak of war, and moves through a good general treatment of Tsingtao and the weaknesses of the outwardly impressive East Asia Squadron to the point at which the new *Cormoran* sets out to add to Germany's glory as a raider. For the *Cormoran*, it stops there. Tsingtao falls, the *Emden* goes on to her glory in the Indian Ocean, Spee's squadron, after an emotional meeting in Majuro, sails off to heroic oblivion in the battle of the Falklands. *Cormoran's* fate was a life of weary tracking and backtracking over the Western Pacific in a desperate and fruitless search for fuel to carry out the action she was designed for. It is a salutary reminder of the limitations of a sea-borne empire and of the logistics necessary for control in peace as well as in war. The nearest *Cormoran* came to action was at Alexishafen, New Guinea, where she was surprised by the arrival of the Australian fleet. But luck and the ineptitude of the Austra-

lians left her undetected. Finally, *Cormoran* makes a sad run for safety to Guam where she is interned.

This opens a new chapter of personal contest between *Cormoran's* commander, Zuckschwerdt, and Guam's naval governor, Maxwell. A gradually worsening situation between Germany and the United States leads ultimately, one day after the outbreak of war between the countries, to the scuttling of the vessel and the death of seven men. Here Burdick's story ends abruptly, perhaps because of fragmentary sources. A very brief bibliographical note at the end talks of the official documentation available for the story but doesn't say where these records are to be found.

Though his style is at times a little wooden and academic, Burdick has worked hard and successfully at telling this interesting tale of a war carried on 12,000 miles from its furnace centre. For her crew, *Cormoran's* campaigns were just as earnest as any on the Western front. And *Cormoran's* lot was in the end a significant one to be given a place in history, for her scuttling in Guam saw the first shots fired between Germany and America, and the first Germans killed in action.

Peter Hempenstall
The University of Newcastle

Charles De Varigny, *Fourteen Years in the Sandwich Islands, 1855–1868*, Alfons L. Korn Ed. and Trans. Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1981. Pp. 289. \$24.95.

Charles de Varigny served as minister of several portfolios in the cabinet of Kamehameha V from 1863 to 1867, after serving as French overseas consular secretary in Honolulu. His memoir, focusing on his ministerial service, is a personal record of the "material and moral progress" of a small oceanic nation. In de Varigny's view, progress is the "law of humanity, a providential law, laid down by God himself, which a whole people as well as individuals obey, sometimes without being aware of doing so." His initial chapters dwell upon Hawaii's early history from "extreme barbarism . . . to a state of civilization" and are drawn from the already published works of Hiram Bingham and James Jackson Jarves in order to present a diachronic perspective on Hawaiian political development from the arrival of Captain James Cook to the accession of William Lunalilo as King.

The author's account is appealing in two basic ways. First, to the general reader, de Varigny presents an informative and readable narration

without being overly sentimental or pedantic in tone or content. Generally, de Varigny was sympathetic with the Hawaiian people, even if one does not excuse his use of "Kanakas" as an occasional term of reference. He firmly believed that the Hawaiian people had "incontestable rights to live their own lives and maintain their own place in the sun," a point of considerable debate in the Pacific. Yet, de Varigny was disturbed about the social disruption which, in his opinion, was caused by the whaling fleets in the North Pacific. Hawaiian males, excited by the possibilities of adventure, left for sea, often leaving their families. He, moreover, felt that by establishing an agriculturally based economy, the ill effects of the whaling fleets could be successfully thwarted. Though de Varigny was familiar with such personalities as Robert C. Wyllie, William L. Lee, and Gerrit P. Judd, de Varigny, possibly because of his nationality, was never intimate with the founding members of the Hawaiian cabinet. Indeed, de Varigny wrote in almost despairing terms of the factional rivalry which persisted in the expatriate communities in Honolulu.

Second, to the historian, de Varigny is notable for his account of the constitutional *coup d'état* of Kamehameha V in unilaterally promulgating the 1864 Constitution. Consonant with the King's view, de Varigny was convinced that universal suffrage, the major change in the new constitution, was "too little adapted to the instinct and understanding of the natives." In addition, the long-standing office of Kuhina Nuu, once termed the "premier," had by then devolved into a "useless wheel" in the engine of state. The new constitution thus eliminated the "bizarre institutional arrangement, as queer and quaint as it was ill-defined." There are, however, curious contradictions and omissions in de Varigny's narrative. The Privy Council was described by him as a "body without much real responsibility" whose purpose was "purely consultative in function." Yet it was the Privy Council that drafted the proclamation signed by the Kuhina Nui that declared Lot Kupuaiwa as Kamehameha V, though under the existing 1852 Constitution, that authority lawfully belonged to the two houses of the legislature acting by joint ballot. Hence, the reservations concerning universal suffrage may very well have been a convenient pretext as the real *coup* was in legitimizing a dubious act of state by the promulgation of a new constitution. The question of succession, however, did not abate. Why Kamehameha V refused to marry or designate an heir during his reign has been a point of speculation which de Varigny had the opportunity to explain, but to which he only added more speculation.

Though this account is informative, it does not deal decisively with important issues in a thorough manner. Little is now known of the day-to-

day operations of government administration, record keeping and de Varigny's relationship with subordinate officials. It seems, moreover, that there was a two-tiered form of political behavior, wherein the Hawaiian and the *haole* operated in different idioms in the affairs of government. There is a definite tenor in de Varigny's discourse that Kamehameha V, as well as the other Hawaiian nobles, kept their rapidly fading political culture at a discrete distance from the eyes of all but a very few of the expatriate ministers. Though expensive, this work is a useful and entertaining account.

William E. H. Tagupa
University of Hawaii—
Kauai Community College

Paul Johnstone. *The Seacraft of Prehistory* Ed. Sean McGrail, 1980, Harvard University Press, Cambridge. Pp. 260, illust., index, notes, bibliography. \$25.00.

Sean McGrail of the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich, England, has prepared this book from the 150,000 words amassed by the late Paul Johnstone, a highly esteemed expert on early ships. The scope of the book, which is immense, is a worthy memorial to Johnstone's lifetime of study. Part I, "General Survey of Early Types of Water Transport," and Part II, "Europe," are the best things on the subject ever written, and even compare favourably with Hornell's classic *Water Transport*. Part III, entitled "Outside Europe," which is far more sketchy. Chapter 15, for instance, on the Pacific, takes up no more than nineteen pages. Nevertheless, the 156 page "General Survey" is essential background reading for any student of Pacific watercraft.

The relationship between the dugout, the planked boat and the bark, or skin-covered craft, is complex and remains largely obscure. The dugout, in any but the most elementary form, became possible only with the advent of the heavy stone woodworking axe/adzes of the Neolithic. The earliest so far known comes from the Netherlands and is carbon dated around 6300 B.C. Johnstone considers that the main line of development of planked craft was the expanding outwards of the sides of soft wood dugouts by the application of heat as a preliminary to the sewing on of strakes and later, rows of planks. The alternative hypothesis, the substitution of sewn planks for the sewn skin or bark, that could readily be worked throughout the preceding 15,000 years of the Mesolithic, he dis-

counts. Johnstone's argument is that skin boats are built on frames, whereas early planked boats have no frames at all, or have subsequently inserted ones. This is probable, but not conclusive. The adoption of rigid adzed planks rendered the vessel's skin virtually self-supporting and reduced to a minimum the need for ribs and frames. The sewn seams of the skin/bark boat were, in fact, retained on most planked craft until metal tools rendered symmetrical dowel holes possible. In India, Ceylon, East Africa, Kiribati and the Tuamotus, sewn construction lasted into the present century. The Hortspring boat from Denmark, 300 B.C., had the bifid stem characteristic of Scandanavian skin-covered craft, yet was built of fine wooden planks sewn together (page 115)—a clear example of direct transition from skin to sewn-plank boat. Johnstone clearly saw this, for he quotes with approval Marstrander's sensible conclusion that *both* skin boats and dugouts contributed to later craft (page 116).

The relevance of this question to Pacific canoes lies in the persistence of two distinct traditions in our ocean—the dugout, as in Hawaii, New Zealand and the Cook Islands, and the sewn-plank canoe found in Kiribati and the Tuamotus. The latter could well be ultimately descended from craft allied to the skin “umiaks” of Euro-Asia and the bark canoes of America.

The characteristic Austronesian stabilising devices, outriggers and double-hulls, are generally believed to have evolved in insular or mainland Southeast Asia (pages 214–15). The author, like Hornell himself, fails to note the most likely hypothesis to account for their introduction—the stabilizing of dugout canoes when putting out into the open sea under sail. The dates for early long distance Pacific voyaging (1500 B.C. to the Marianas as the first great leap) are well after the most conservative dates for the introduction of sail (the 3100 B.C. Egyptian vase painting cited by Johnstone on page 760). In fact, linguistic evidence of Austronesian words for sail and mast would date Austronesian sail power at least a millenium earlier (A. Pawley, personal communication 1976).

The Pacific craft we have been considering have been canoes of one sort or another. But, as in other tropical oceans, rafts and reed bundle semi-rafts were also important. Johnstone describes the reed bundle craft of ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia and their surviving analogues in Africa, Peru, Easter Island, Southern New Zealand, the Chatham Islands and Tasmania. He refers comprehensively, if rather cursorily, to the sailing rafts of Southeast Asia, India, South America and Polynesia. The striking similarity in concept in steering sailing rafts by leeboards in Southeast Asia and Mexico-Peru (but not Polynesia) raises the thorny question of pre-Columbian trans-Pacific contacts between Asia and South America.

Johnstone gives a very fair summary of the present position on pages 230-31 and sensibly opts for "non proven."

In reviewing this excellent book, I have purposefully refrained from discussing the interesting sections on Europe. I have concentrated instead on those parts most relevant to Pacific origins. Uneven coverage is inevitable on this book's enormous field. Oceania and the greater part of the world has suffered. Nevertheless, this is a readable and well presented work of reference that no student of maritime prehistory can afford to be without.

David Lewis

Oceanic Research Foundation
Danger Island, NSW, Australia

Charles W. Kenn, Trans. *Moolelo of Ancient Hawaii*, Reverend John F. Pogue, Honolulu, Topgallant Press, 1978. Pp. xii, 245, appendix. \$5.95.

A major obstacle to understanding anything having to do with Hawaiian history and culture is that most of the major histories are written by non-speakers of the Hawaiian language. Thus, all of the major English-language histories or commentaries on Hawaii are based on the writings of basically four people: Samuel Kamakau, David Malo, John Papa Ii, and Abraham Fornander, Hawaiians who spoke English. But, much of Kamakau was unknown until parts of his writing were translated by Dr. Mary Kawena Pukui, in 1950. Much of Malo's work still remains to be translated, as is the case with some of the Ii and Fornander materials. The real need in Hawaiian studies presently is for Hawaiian translators who understand the metaphors of the Hawaiian language of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and who also have the historian's objectivity and research skills. Such a rare gem is Charles W. Kenn, who, in his seventies now, is just beginning to receive the credit and the recognition due him as a Hawaiian linguist and scholar. He has written prolifically on a number of Hawaiian subjects such as history, genealogy, sports, linguistics, music and even horticulture. In the Hawaiian community itself, Kenn is greatly admired and respected for his universal and academic perspective. He has labored long and largely unnoticed most of his life, although he is quoted often by scholars at the Bishop Museum, the Kamehameha Schools and the University of Hawaii. In 1980, he was a lecturer-in-residence at the

Brigham Young University-Hawaii Campus, conducting, among other things, a seminar in the Hawaiian psyche.

All of this introduction, of course, is designed to say as much about the man as about the book, because what Kenn has done with the *Moolelo* (story) is most important. There have been seven *Moolelo of Ancient Hawaii* beginning with the original text written entirely in Hawaiian by the students of Professor Dibble of the Lahainaluna Seminary in 1838. These young men, among whom was David Malo, were asked to interview their *kupuna* (elders) and ask them for as much information as possible on various aspects of Hawaiian culture. There were no restrictions as to the kinds of questions that could be asked, and as a result all editions of the *Moolelo* show the same basic sourcebook format. A wide range of topics is discussed ranging from the Creation of Hawaii and the generations of Wakea, all the way to telling time, seasons of the year, and points of the compass.

In this respect, Kenn's translation is most helpful because it tries to give a semantic translation relying on his feelings, *mana'o*, for the original Hawaiian language. One must remember that it was not until the late 1820s that Hawaiian became a written language, and that codification was still relatively new when the first *Moolelo* was written. Hence, the original style is somewhat stilted and formal, and reads more like a prayer book or a catechism. Kenn has tried to remain authentic by retaining the old format, and by inserting his more than three hundred corrections in brackets interspersed throughout the text. His corrections, translations, and explanations are all very helpful, particularly in bringing to light not only what early Hawaiian writers were saying, but also what they regarded as being worth sharing about their culture. Unfortunately much of what was thought was never written; much that was written was never translated; much that was written and translated was destroyed at the time of the overthrow of the monarchy; and much that was written, translated and not destroyed has still not made its way completely into print. Thus, Charles Kenn's translation of Pogue's *Moolelo of Ancient Hawaii* fills a very important gap in our understanding of Hawaii and Hawaiians of the early nineteenth century.

Ishmael Stagner
Brigham Young University-Hawaii Campus

Captain Henry Byam Martin, *The Polynesian Journal*, Salem, Mass.: Peabody Museum of Salem, 1981. Pp. 200, illustrations.

The competition for place in the Pacific led Great Britain and France in the 1830s and 1840s into excursions for dominance in New Zealand, the Marquesas, Tahiti and Hawaii. In rapid succession Great Britain annexed New Zealand in 1840, France established a protectorate over the Marquesas and Tahiti in 1842, and both contended over the status (independence or French protectorate) of the Leeward Islands of the Societies for the next few years. During the same period, the Hawaiian Kingdom was under cession to Great Britain for several months in 1843.

Sometimes the expansionist imperative was advanced by naval officers acting beyond the intentions of their governments. Such was the case in Hawaii when the British government reversed the actions of Lord George Paulet. Other naval officers interpreted their general instructions in accord with their government's objectives. So did Admiral Abel Du Petit-Thouars in the Marquesas and Tahiti. The French cabinet confirmed the protectorates. Moreover, the British government accepted the fact.

In Tahiti, however, Queen Pomare, many of the chiefs, and the mass of the people, resisted the new relationship. They were supported by Europeans and Americans in the islands, and by many of the commanders of British warships that stopped there during the period. By 1844 chiefs and warriors were established in camps in inaccessible valleys in the center of the island. Queen Pomare removed to the Leeward Islands and persisted in appealing to the British to help restore Tahitian sovereignty. In Pape'ete, Captain Armand-Joseph Bruat began the process of establishing the administrative organization of the new French dependency. He was also compelled to consider the continuing diplomatic and military problems of reluctant and resisting foreigners and indigenous peoples. French control was finally solidified by the end of 1846 when the French were led by a Tahitian to a path whereby they could penetrate the native defences and force the surrender of the chiefs. By February of 1847 Pomare had returned to Tahiti and had accepted the protectorate.

Many scholarly studies have examined the period in terms of international rivalry in the Pacific and of European diplomacy. The internal history of French Polynesia has been discussed in detail in Colin Newbury's excellent work, *Tahiti Nui* (1980). For the scholar and student of these small Pacific principalities, a comprehensive study is still dependent upon these works.

Yet how impoverished Hawaiian and Pacific history would be without the private journals and artistic renditions of people who were there. The characterization of people, the observations of culture, the attitudes of the writer, the comments on European political policies, the details about

Polynesian societies, all these rich fragments have increased our understanding.

The present publication by the Peabody Museum of Salem of the Polynesian excerpt of Captain Henry Byam Martin, R.N., accompanied by twenty-one color reproductions of his paintings and many black and white copies of his drawings and sketches, is of this genre. It is a beautifully designed and executed volume and a superb addition to a Hawaiian and Pacific library.

Martin, in command of HMS *Grampus*, was sent to Tahiti by way of Honolulu in the summer of 1846. At the Hawaiian Islands he met Sir George Seymour for further instructions. Two weeks later he left for Tahiti where he remained until the summer of 1847. Thus, he was in the islands during the crucial period of the end of the native war and the acceptance of the protectorate.

What role did Martin play? His instructions appear to have been to protect Great Britain's interests and those of her nationals, to be conciliatory to Governor Bruat and to convince the Tahitians that Great Britain would not support their cause against the French. Perhaps he was also instructed to persuade Pomare to accept the French protectorate. His position was important but not essential to a resolution of the current issues. Thus, while Martin was a participant he was also an observer and an emissary of peace and friendliness rather than an activist enforcing policy.

Could it be, then, that he was the perfect observer, the objective, unprejudiced narrator? Hardly! Captain Martin was an example of the man confident of his and his culture's preeminence. His opinion of indigenous peoples and their cultures was filtered through his assumption of the superiority of the British upper class. Polynesian clothes, food, behavior, dance, and customs he considered barbaric and gross. His portraiture of Hawaiian and Tahitian leaders was done as caricature to point out their savage or comic appearance. For the seeker of glowing positive descriptions of Polynesian societies Martin's journal is not the depository.

Yet paradoxically Martin achieved a certain objectivity just because of the narrowness of his vision. For if he was critical of indigenous peoples, he was also captious about the French, English and Americans who did not meet his standards of class and culture. He found missionaries, merchants and bureaucrats lacking in grace and integrity. Few were gentle people to him.

The reader, then, is able to absorb the text and search the illustrations for information to use as part of a broad examination of Hawaii and the Pacific. With this in mind the work has much to offer. The most important material can be found in the illustrations. Clothes, tattoos, houses,

canoes, places, all add to the collection of ethnographic material identifying cultural change and continuity.

Second, as a contemporary recorder, Martin through his descriptions and his drawings delineated the moment and its events, the place and its vitality. His report of his tours framed the specific places in that time. The Tahitians in canoes, the woman with "murder" tattooed across her face and the Tahitians puffing on their pipes, pictured a lively culture. His sketch of a woman dancing had her moving across the paper in vibrant action.

Third, the imperialist point of view of the author presaged the ultimate political disposition of Pacific groups. His view of the area was in terms of spheres of influence, dominance and control by Britain, France or the United States. In casual comments he seemed to exemplify the attitude which would result in the policies which would eventually engulf the islands.

Finally, Martin's impressions and factual entries added one more source to the history of the time. From him we learn the name of the Tahitian who led the French against his people. His characterization of Pomare, however limited by his prejudices, was at least immediate and authentic.

Martin was no romantic, falling on the thorns of life and bleeding over the fate of a culture and its people. Rarely was he caught by the beauty of his surroundings, according to the journal entries. But look again at the village scenes where distance diluted personality. Here Martin was able to render great detail of place. Look particularly at the panoramic views of Pape'ete, Borabora and Mo'orea. There emerges from these scenes a sense of peace, haunting beauty, quiet charm and exotic beings. Perhaps Martin's edition was made possible after a collection of over one hundred of his paintings and drawings of Polynesia was found in a family home in England. His journal was located in the British Library. A selection of the art and an excerpt from the journal were put together effectively by Edward Dodd. Other than a couple of omissions, the notes are adequate and placed unobtrusively at the end of the work. Perhaps it would have been helpful if Martin's instructions had been included, and more interesting if the collection of paintings and drawings had been described more fully in the introduction. But no matter. The work is a fine publication.

Pauline N. King
History Department
University of Hawaii

Grant McCall. *Rapanui: Tradition and Survival on Easter Island*. Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii. 1981. Pp. 197, illustrations, maps, notes. \$16.95.

Following the inauguration of air travel to Easter Island in the late 1960s, the sudden ease of access to this remote bit of land resulted in a veritable spate of publications on this so-called island of mystery. While a few were of the stolid, monographic stuff of archaeologists, the majority were aimed at a public whose curiosity about the island and its giant statues had been aroused by Thor Heyerdahl's best selling popular book, *Aku Aku*, published in 1958. Now comes yet another popular book, but with a difference. This one is written by a professional anthropologist who spent eighteen months living with the Rapanui, as the islanders now call themselves. His concern is not with the numerous archaeological remains on the island, but rather with the people who left them, and whose descendants have survived the onslaught of European and Euro-American culture contact, and yet who have continued to maintain their own sense of identity. Thus, as he explains, his narrative has to do with the "development and current situation of the Easter Islanders."

To understand the development of a people who left no written record one must, per force, turn first to the archaeological record, then to the ethnohistoric accounts, and, finally, to the living people themselves. As it turns out, the author's real knowledge and interest lies with the living Easter Islanders, and his last seven chapters, two-thirds of the book, deal with this subject in a sound and delightful manner. Unfortunately, in these days of anthropological specialization, it is difficult to be all things to all reviewers, and this reviewer, steeped in archaeology and ethnohistory, found him somewhat lacking in his opening three chapters dealing with the prehistory and history of the island.

The author, no archaeologist, attempts to discuss the prehistoric aspect of Rapanui development with rather dubious success. Perhaps it is these first two chapters that the author, Grant McCall, is referring to on page 10 when he states that, "In order to tell this story, I have simplified the normally cautious approach of the scholar and indulged in speculation." Unfortunately for the reader, he seldom labels his speculations as such. However, as a gesture to those of us who might question his reasoning, he has included "summary references, grouped at the end of the book by chapters," where the evidence turns out to be nothing more than a series of works on Easter Island, all of which the reader is apparently expected to pour through in search of his answers, no specific page or chapter references have been included.

A few of these apparent speculations on the prehistoric past are worth mentioning as examples. Thus, the effects of the Little Ice Age, well documented in medieval Europe but not yet known in lower latitudes, is seen as probably having had dire consequences in Polynesia. For unexplained reasons this cooler period is thought to have changed the "calm and placid" waters of Polynesia into cold and rough seas which effectively stopped the previous long-ranging voyages that Polynesians are thought to have made. Later in the book McCall sees this same cooling trend as responsible for food shortages on Easter Island. This, in turn, he sees as resulting in warfare, cannibalism, and a sudden fundamental change in the islanders' religion. The more plausible suggestion that over-population may have caused the food shortage is barely touched upon.

While there is some evidence for the island having once been divided into two major groups of people, it is sheer speculation on his part that the northern group were prehistoric fisher-folk because of poor soil, and the southern group agriculturalists. Agriculture was certainly practiced in early historic times on the north coast since Beechy, sailing around the northern periphery of the island in 1825, reports seeing terraced agricultural fields. Again, in 1955, I personally discovered some remains of Terevaka volcano. Also, just why the southern agriculturalists should have to supply the northern fisher-folk with wood for their canoes, as the author claims, when Terevaka, well within the northern group's boundary, must have been covered with such timber, is a little hard to understand.

McCall's suggestion that there was a sudden prehistoric island-wide shift from worshipping giant stone figures of ancestors to a newly-created god named *Make Make*, as well as the creation of a new sacred bird cult ceremony centered at Orongo, does have a certain amount of supportive evidence. There is no doubt that the carving of the great statues ceased rather abruptly, but exactly when is not certain. It is also true that the archaeological remains at the pan-ceremonial site of Orongo are relatively late. Whether the cessation of statue carving predates the construction of Orongo remains to be determined. Regardless, considering the usually conservative nature of religious beliefs, it is difficult to conceive of a totally isolated culture (which McCall feels was the case) suddenly doing away with its traditional religious concepts and inventing a new god and a totally new bird cult. Gods, ancestor worship, and sacred birds linked to deity are found together elsewhere in Polynesia, Tahiti being one example. Thus, presuming no outside contact after initial settlement, a more plausible concept would be that all three elements arrived with the first settlers, and the religious change represented one of emphasis rather than of innovation.

The author, having warned his readers that he would offer speculations, can be forgiven for an over-imaginative mind. However, he certainly must be faulted for a few inaccuracies of factual knowledge.

On page 33, he refers to the stone forming the statue quarry of Rana Raraku as being composed of "dense basalt." Nothing could be farther from the truth, since the material is a relatively soft volcanic tuff, or consolidated ash, which can easily be scratched with a knife. Perhaps more understandably, McCall refers to the black slabs of stone used in the construction of the Orongo houses as being of slate. Actually, they are of volcanic basalt. Finally, had he read the report on my excavations at Orongo in 1955-56, he would not have stated, as he does on page 40, that the houses were "erected over a natural depression." Quite the contrary, their floors were excavated into the sloping ground, the spoil heaps from such digging having been clearly evident behind several of the dwellings.

While Chapter 2 on the prehistory of the island comes off as a somewhat speculative piece of writing, McCall begins to warm up to his subject in the following chapter on the history of Easter Island. For some unexplained reason, his historical account closes with the annexation of Easter Island by Chile in 1888, the history of that country's occupation not being dealt with until Chapters 7 and 8. While the historical treatment of foreign contact and intervention on the island are interestingly written from an historian's point of view, it is a little surprising that an anthropologist concerned with the development of the Rapanui did not take the opportunity to review the ethnohistoric information contained in the documents of the time. In fact, after reading McCall's descriptions of modern Rapanui, and comparing these with my own limited ethnographic observations made during the Norwegian expedition in 1955-56, I am amazed at the degree of culture change and adaptation that has taken place during only the last twenty-five years. However, ethnohistoric documents of the Pacific may not be McCall's strong point for on page 52 he mistakenly has the Society Islander, Omai, being taken back to England on Cook's first voyage when, in fact, it was the second voyage.

While the first three chapters of this book leave something to be desired, it is a pleasure to commend the remaining seven chapters. Here McCall is very much at home dealing with the modern Easter Islanders, and it shows in his writing. It is almost as if he had happily written the original manuscript starting with Chapter 4, had later felt compelled to write the first three introductory chapters, and did so under duress.

The concept of family and household, as the Rapanui presently see it, is an all important subject which requires two full chapters of clearly written prose. This is as it should be since McCall sees the Easter Island

peoples which constitutes the study area, involve a variety of social and psychological codes implicit in the behavior expressed upon the landscape. The human activities described here are mediated by cultural operators providing for ecological stabilization and social continuity.

The number of illustrations are exceedingly generous for a book of this kind. They allow the text to be followed easily and provide much information in themselves. In addition to his observations on the ground, the author employed a single-engined Cessna with the passenger door purposely removed. He leaned out using a simple hand-held camera and took many photographs of gardens and settlements. He was equally energetic in carrying out his tasks in the field. The study area occupies 670 square kilometers and much of it is steeply sloped and heavily forested. He used a vintage Landrover on the few pick-and-shovel roads which were very often precarious due to heavy rainfall and landslides. He was, and had to be, an enthusiastic walker eager to know by direct contact the country and its many different peoples.

The work that this research embraces has a twenty year history. The author's dedication to the study area, and incidentally to Papua, New Guinea as a whole dates from the early 1960s. He is expert in geography, anthropology and behavioral science, a member of several faculties in the States and at the present time Chairman of the Department of Community Medicine at the University of Papua, New Guinea. The text is lucid and concise and of value to a wide range of intelligent readers both within and beyond anthropology itself. I strongly recommend this book.

Burton G. Burton-Bradley

Faculty of Medicine

The University of Papua New Guinea

Jane and James Ritchie, *Growing Up in Polynesia*. Boston: George Allen and Unwin, 1979. Pp. 176, map, references, index. \$13.50. Paperback \$6.95.

When Bougainville and Cook descended on the islands of Polynesia, Europe was just ripe to receive the news that an earthly Eden had been discovered. Whether these explorers meant to confirm this or not is another matter. Eighteenth and nineteenth century Europeans saw the islanders the way they wanted to see them, alternatively as the noble and as the ignoble savage.

"Because notions of noble and ignoble savagery among non-Europeans are so basic to Western views of the world, and because these views in turn originate in and are worked out through the Judeo-Christian tradition, it is not surprising that they continue to turn up, in however muted a form, in the twentieth century" (Daws 1977: 181). Today, most anthropologists have banished such ideas from their minds. But because there is no worse insult to an anthropologist than a blatant accusation of cultural bias, let us give the question more perspective: can an outside observer be free from all cultural or theoretical models in describing another culture? Can he or she discard every bit of his or her psychological and academic conditioning in the analysis, for instance, of a topic as bound to be taken personally as socialization in a target culture?

What the Ritchies attempt to give, though as "emic" a view of Polynesian socialization as possible, is a proof that one can get very close to a positive answer. For that, they discard the surprisingly common strategy of developing a theory and then looking at the data through it, "because we believed that socialization is not conducted in terms of the literature of child development but in terms of cultural goals" (p. 147). Thus, the temptation to see the topic through theoretical smoked glasses is avoided.

Growing up in Polynesia is an account of socialization practices in Polynesia—a broadly defined area, as it is made to include Fiji and Rotuma. It relies both on the literature, from Mead to Levy, and on the authors' vast knowledge and experience in the field, particularly in New Zealand (see Beaglehole and Ritchie, 1958, for a summary of their most famous research). The book, however, is not intended to be a highly technical study which would have made it, like most of the literature in the field, unapproachable to the majority. Instead, both style and content, combined with comments made by the authors' Polynesian students that preface each chapter, make it a very readable and enjoyable review both of the data available gleaned from the bookshelf and the field and of the current theories on child development in a Polynesian perspective.

The audience that the Ritchies are writing for is difficult to define with any precision. They indeed insist that their primary intention is to address Polynesians "as one kind of offering to their continuing celebration of living the Polynesian life" (p. 10). The intention is an admirable one yet, throughout the book one cannot help feeling that it is addressed to Westerners, or at least to very urbanized Pacific Islanders. Indeed, the Western model for a particular practice is frequently given before the Polynesian model. Obviously, and the Ritchies give us a virtuoso example of this, we need a framework of comparison when we want to describe a culture or anything else for that matter. Without comparison there is no

description. But when writing about Polynesians for Polynesians do we really need to refer constantly to a descriptive model?

The geographic area the Ritchies propose to cover is enormous. So is the cultural area. One can find a world of difference between the streets of Auckland and the isolated Marquesan valley, and even between an atoll of Tokelau of Tuvalu and a village on Savai'i. Yet, and the authors emphasize it repeatedly, there are strong similarities in the general socialization patterns everywhere in Polynesia and Fiji. This homogeneity is stressed by the set-up of the book itself. The first and most important parts of the book (Chapters 1-10) go through each stage of the process of growing up, from birth to young adulthood. The scenario will be familiar to every islander, or even to any reader of Mead. Born in an extremely warm, protective and loving environment, which surrounds it through infancy, the child is then led towards independence from the adult world at an early age, a process that was insightfully called "desatellization" by Ausubel (1977: 124-5). From this moment on, most of the socializing input comes from the peer group; this pattern will go on till adulthood is reached (the entering of adolescence being a very unobtrusive event) and will have an impact on the cultural attitudes towards such things as the meaning of achievement and sex roles.

However well-developed the overall argument is, a few points lack a bit of clarity. One such example is what happens at the stage when the young child is to shift his or her dependency and security needs from the parental figures onto the peer group. The Ritchies do not agree with certain authors who state that the child goes through a process of rejection on the part of the adults; this interpretation, they state, is culturally biased. Indeed, the Polynesian situation does not exhibit the characteristics of real rejection as one finds, for instance, in Belauan society (Barnett 1960: 6). Nor are the usual after effects of such a rejection characteristic of Polynesian cultures. What is then an alternative way of looking at the process Polynesian children go through? "Polynesian adults are not reclusive—merely firm," the Ritchies propose (p. 53). This, however, is very unenlightening.

A more precise way of looking at early independence would be to posit it not triggered by rejection on the part of the adults, but by avoidance of adult presence on the part of the child. The child, at the appropriate age, will start avoiding the adult because the latter has gradually become more demanding, less flexible and certainly less enslaved to every one of the child's whims. The motivations for desatellization therefore do not stem directly from the adult, but from the child, and is therefore not as traumatic as one would expect, although temper tantrums and hunger

for a lost attention are far from being unknown in that age group (see Gerber 1975: 71-4 and Besnier 1979: 17). Secondly, this avoidance pattern carries right through into adulthood. One avoids getting oneself into a demanding or stressful situation. Keesing and Keesing (1956-79) give us the example of a young Samoan man asked to join a chief who could not swallow his food, and Ritchie and Ritchie report another in the context of schooling: "you withdraw from, you isolate yourself from, that which causes the failure" (p. 126).

One discussion the Ritchies develop very successfully concerns achievement goals in the Polynesian cultural context (Chapter 7). Indeed, numerous Western observers, educators, foreign aid officers and expatriates have been heard to deplore what they saw as a lack of motivation among Polynesians: "a lack of initiative and of personal dynamic on the learner's part is found throughout the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, with young and old alike" (Green 1974: 17). Although it will come as nothing new to most theoreticians, the context in which the achievement motivations have to be measured is invariably forgotten in those statements. At the level of the village, of the island or of the kin group, competition and achievement goals can be tremendous in Polynesia and motivate groups and sometimes individuals to undertake great tasks. One thinks of fish drives in atoll environments like Tuvalu, in which the competition can be ferocious, or, of women clearing whole villages of every bit of dirt in Tonga. On the other hand, there is a little ambition, understandably, to "succeed" in a Western sense, as such a success is invariably individualistic (as opposed to the Polynesian preference for group achievement), materialistic (which is of lesser relevance in a Polynesian context) and defined within a context that is foreign to Polynesia.

In the latter chapter of the volume, the problems associated with urbanization, migration, schooling, and cultural contacts are discussed. The excellent remarks made in these seem to concern mostly Polynesians in a Westernized environment. Hawaiians, urban Maoris and immigrant islanders will find their problems well discussed in these chapters, but on the whole they will have little immediate relevance to the outer-island Fijian, the Tuvaluan or the Tuamotuan, to whom pre-school and bilingual education do not mean much (at least for the time being). So, while the authors painstakingly try to cover the whole Polynesian area in their remarks, it is nevertheless obvious that the emphasis is on urbanized or semi-urbanized Polynesia, which is understandable given the research background of the authors.

One problem that would have deserved more attention is the language problem in education and in cross-cultural contacts. It does get mentioned

briefly on several occasions, but is never fully discussed. Basically, there seem to be two kinds of problems in the Polynesian area. One found in the more Westernized communities like Hawaii and New Zealand is created by the loss of the Polynesians' own register and the acquisition of a non-standard register of the dominant language (English), which stigmatize the speakers as sub-standard members of the dominant society. The other kind of problem is more likely to be found in more traditionalistic areas, such as the outer islands of many nations of the Pacific. There, the lack of exposure to the *lingua franca* of the country (English or French) limits the degree of fluency which can be attained by school children. As the whole educational system is based on this language it hinders their educational achievements. The effect of both situations can be devastating, not only on the practical side but also on the cultural and moral sides and on the individual's self-esteem. Bilingual education programs and, before all, recognition of the nature of the problems by the concerned authorities, certainly help a great deal in remedying them. But the root of the problem seems to be deeply nested in cultural attitudes both on the part of the dominant culture, if there is one, and of the Polynesians. No solution can, therefore, be expected to have magic results.

Perhaps the best aspect of the Ritchies' book is that the reader can get through it a good cross-cultural idea of what socialization is. Polynesian socialization is successfully put into a broader context of "growing up anywhere" without, on the other hand, falling into theorization. The Ritchies subtly define the accepted universals, pointing out those that do not apply to Polynesia (p. 155 for instance) and reinforcing those that do, thus building up an overview of what socialization is.

In conclusion, *Growing up in Polynesia* will never become another *Coming of Age in Samoa* or *We, the Tikopia* because its aims are very different. It is likely, however, to be one of the few books of its kind to secure a place on the Polynesian family bookshelf or in the school teacher's reference library. In that, it may be a much more valuable contribution to the study of developmental psychology in the Pacific than many of the volumes in the scholar's library. It is hoped that, following the Ritchies' example and the pace set by organizations like the Pacific Islanders' Educational Resource centre in New Zealand (Ioane et al. 1977), more materials of this kind will be developed in the future.

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Nicholas Besnier
United States Peace Corp
Suva, Fiji

Geoffrey Sherington. *Australia's Immigrants 1788-1978*. Sydney: George Allen and Unwin, 1980.

Under the general editorship of Dr. Heather Radi of Sydney University, the publishing company of George Allen and Unwin have produced a series of books each dealing with a particular theme in Australian history. Like its accompanying volumes, Sherington's *Australia's Immigrants 1788-1978* would seem to be aimed for the market of the upper secondary school or introductory tertiary level student. As such, it contains many of the deficiencies of the textbook. Most notably, it relies solely upon secondary sources, and, for the most part, the usual titles with which any

undergraduate student in Australian history should already be familiar. Consequently, there is no feeling of discovery of hitherto forgotten primary sources to give the narrative freshness and vigor. Rather, Sherington's interpretation is bland and unimaginative, written in stolid and phlegmatic style. It can be contrasted with Professor Geoffrey Bolton's *Spoils and the Spoilers*, another in the general series, which is a lively and fascinating account of the transformation of the Australian environment since white occupation in 1788.

Certainly, reading Sherington's book, it could be assumed that Australia was a vast unoccupied desolate continent before a British penal settlement was established in New South Wales in January 1788. Clearly, this total disregard for the presence of the 300,000 Aborigines for at least 40,000 years links Sherington's interpretation very unambiguously with the dominant Whig tradition of Australian historiography. This pervasive tradition stresses social harmony, and Australia's destiny is portrayed as an ever-expanding materialistic paradise where calm, reasonable, liberal institutions regulate social, political and economic relations. The overriding preoccupation of late colonial Australia was the implementation of a white Australia policy. Sherington mentions in passing that the Chinese returned to the Victorian goldfields of the 1850s, but neglects to analyze the intense racial conflict that their presence engendered, which was reminiscent of the California experience. Again, he casually refers to the Melanesians in the sugar industry in Queensland but does not even alert the reader to the salient fact that Queensland possessed a classical plantation system like Louisiana.

Sherington's immigrants would mostly seem to have ended up winners—even the convicts, coming from an urban slum of a rapidly industrialising England, improved in the colonies. He gives a quick biography of Michael Robinson, a graduate of Oxford, and of Simeon Lord, who became a wealthy merchant. Such men were not typical of transportees to the Australian colonies. This tendency to laud the successful is repeated over and over. When speaking of the period from the 1850s to 1880, when much of Australia was transformed from brutal frontier environments into large, complex, urban and semi-industrialised towns, Sherington refers to James Munro, a printer who arrived in Melbourne in 1858 and became Premier of Victoria in 1890. Again, when writing of European immigration, Nicholas Laurantos, who began life as a Greek peasant, worked in fruit shops in NSW and ended his career receiving a knighthood and endowing Sydney University with a Chair in Modern Greek, is hardly a usual story. Undoubtedly, many migrants have raised their economic security by coming to Australia, especially in the post-war

boom. Sherington does point out that many migrants, because of the language difficulties and the lack of recognition of their previous technical training, are forced to accept low-paid factory jobs. Rather, it is this aspect of migrant experience which should be stressed. Again, when discussing the emphasis upon post-war migration by successive Labor and Liberal governments, Sherington does not place it within its historical context. Always fearing invasion by the "Yellow Peril," as the Chinese were termed in the nineteenth century, these fears were intensified after the war in the Pacific from 1941 to 1945. The slogan, "populate or perish" reflected deep-seated anxieties in the Australian community. Neither does Sherington make it clear that southern and eastern Europeans were reluctantly accepted when insufficient Britons and northern Europeans were forthcoming. Australia has always been and still is an intensely racist and xenophobic society fearing all outsiders, relegating many of the survivors of the brutal frontier and their descendants upon reserves which operate as Australia's own form of Apartheid, and until recently, maintaining the continent as a bastion of white settlement. Clearly this crucial, if unpleasant theme, needs to be explored if we are to understand fully and without reservation the true importance of Australian immigration policy.

Kay Saunders
Department of History
University of Queensland
Australia

The Ethnography of Malinowski: The Trobriand Islands 1915-18. Michael W. Young, Ed., Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979. Pp. ix, 324, illustrations, bibliography, index.

With the aim of offering a concise ethnography of the Trobriand Islanders in Malinowski's own words, Dr. Young has assembled selections from *Coral Gardens and their Magic*, *The Sexual Life of Savages*, and *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*. The selections are arranged in three parts—"Habitat and Economy," "Kinship, Marriage and Land," and "The Kula"—each of which is introduced with a list of page references to the original works and suggestions for further reading. The parts are further divided into numbered and titled sections. A number of Malinowski's photographs and maps and diagrams are also included.

Of most interest to anthropologists is Dr. Young's introduction in which he essays "an assessment of . . . [Malinowski's] . . . accomplishments

as an ethnographer," for it is useful to have the views of a first-rate ethnographer who has worked in the Massim region. If modern Trobrianders do not quarrel with Malinowski's facts and interpretations, but rather with his "colouring" (Father Baldwin, as quoted by Young), then it is with the preponderantly negative coloring or tone of Young's appraisal that I would take issue. Professor Goodale, in an earlier review (*American Ethnologist*, 1980, 7(4): 803-804), found the introduction too critical, and so do I. The man who invented ethnography's "microscope" and demonstrated its use deserves a more balanced treatment by a fellow ethnographer. Yet the introduction in which Young adds his own comments to well known criticisms of other anthropologists, does have an appealing verve.

Perhaps the principal question raised by this book is the audience which the editor and publisher had in mind. Clearly, students are the intended audience, but which ones? Graduate students, if they mean to learn their craft, will continue to peruse Malinowski's corpus, to read the essays in *Man and Culture* edited by Raymond Firth, the various intellectual portraits and reviews, and H. A. Powell's articles. Unfortunately for the graduate student reader Young has not only eliminated purple passages, didactic methodological discussions, and polemics which he thinks are tiresome and outdated, but also important interpretations. For example, Part three, "The Kula," which includes nearly one-fifth of *Argonauts*, omits key passages on the relationship of the Kula proper and utilitarian trade which have been the basis of dozens of textbook interpretations (largely incorrect, I believe). Nor are the polemics completely outdated. Malinowski inveighed against "social teleology" and then outlined the Kula teleology for subsequent generations of functionalist theorists from Robert Merton to Marvin Harris. Many of the polemical asides are of more interest to graduate students exploring the development of the discipline and current theorizing than the details of Trobriand life.

As for undergraduates, the majority of students who enroll in anthropology courses in American universities (at least the major universities) are not majoring in the field. For the purposes of survey courses, their needs, as well as those of most majors, will be served by such works as Hatch's chapter on Malinowski in *Theories of Man and Culture* and Service's on the Trobriands in *Profiles in Ethnology*. This brings us to that dwindling breed, the professionally-oriented undergraduate majors. Perhaps Dr. Young's book is intended for them.

For non-professional readers, whoever they may be, Young has done a skillful editing job because in a little more than two hundred pages one is presented with a readable account of Trobriand life and society. Of

course it is difficult to say how much of the context and continuity is unconsciously provided by the reader already familiar with Malinowski's work.

Thomas G. Harding
University of California
Santa Barbara

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peoples which constitutes the study area, involve a variety of social and psychological codes implicit in the behavior expressed upon the landscape. The human activities described here are mediated by cultural operators providing for ecological stabilization and social continuity.

The number of illustrations are exceedingly generous for a book of this kind. They allow the text to be followed easily and provide much information in themselves. In addition to his observations on the ground, the author employed a single-engined Cessna with the passenger door purposely removed. He leaned out using a simple hand-held camera and took many photographs of gardens and settlements. He was equally energetic in carrying out his tasks in the field. The study area occupies 670 square kilometers and much of it is steeply sloped and heavily forested. He used a vintage Landrover on the few pick-and-shovel roads which were very often precarious due to heavy rainfall and landslides. He was, and had to be, an enthusiastic walker eager to know by direct contact the country and its many different peoples.

The work that this research embraces has a twenty year history. The author's dedication to the study area, and incidentally to Papua, New Guinea as a whole dates from the early 1960s. He is expert in geography, anthropology and behavioral science, a member of several faculties in the States and at the present time Chairman of the Department of Community Medicine at the University of Papua, New Guinea. The text is lucid and concise and of value to a wide range of intelligent readers both within and beyond anthropology itself. I strongly recommend this book.

Burton G. Burton-Bradley
Faculty of Medicine

The University of Papua New Guinea

Jane and James Ritchie, *Growing Up in Polynesia*. Boston: George Allen and Unwin, 1979. Pp. 176, map, references, index. \$13.50. Paperback \$6.95.

When Bougainville and Cook descended on the islands of Polynesia, Europe was just ripe to receive the news that an earthly Eden had been discovered. Whether these explorers meant to confirm this or not is another matter. Eighteenth and nineteenth century Europeans saw the islanders the way they wanted to see them, alternatively as the noble and as the ignoble savage.

"Because notions of noble and ignoble savagery among non-Europeans are so basic to Western views of the world, and because these views in turn originate in and are worked out through the Judeo-Christian tradition, it is not surprising that they continue to turn up, in however muted a form, in the twentieth century" (Daws 1977: 181). Today, most anthropologists have banished such ideas from their minds. But because there is no worse insult to an anthropologist than a blatant accusation of cultural bias, let us give the question more perspective: can an outside observer be free from all cultural or theoretical models in describing another culture? Can he or she discard every bit of his or her psychological and academic conditioning in the analysis, for instance, of a topic as bound to be taken personally as socialization in a target culture?

What the Ritchies attempt to give, though as "emic" a view of Polynesian socialization as possible, is a proof that one can get very close to a positive answer. For that, they discard the surprisingly common strategy of developing a theory and then looking at the data through it, "because we believed that socialization is not conducted in terms of the literature of child development but in terms of cultural goals" (p. 147). Thus, the temptation to see the topic through theoretical smoked glasses is avoided.

Growing up in Polynesia is an account of socialization practices in Polynesia—a broadly defined area, as it is made to include Fiji and Rotuma. It relies both on the literature, from Mead to Levy, and on the authors' vast knowledge and experience in the field, particularly in New Zealand (see Beaglehole and Ritchie, 1958, for a summary of their most famous research). The book, however, is not intended to be a highly technical study which would have made it, like most of the literature in the field, unapproachable to the majority. Instead, both style and content, combined with comments made by the authors' Polynesian students that preface each chapter, make it a very readable and enjoyable review both of the data available gleaned from the bookshelf and the field and of the current theories on child development in a Polynesian perspective.

The audience that the Ritchies are writing for is difficult to define with any precision. They indeed insist that their primary intention is to address Polynesians "as one kind of offering to their continuing celebration of living the Polynesian life" (p. 10). The intention is an admirable one yet, throughout the book one cannot help feeling that it is addressed to Westerners, or at least to very urbanized Pacific Islanders. Indeed, the Western model for a particular practice is frequently given before the Polynesian model. Obviously, and the Ritchies give us a virtuoso example of this, we need a framework of comparison when we want to describe a culture or anything else for that matter. Without comparison there is no

description. But when writing about Polynesians for Polynesians do we really need to refer constantly to a descriptive model?

The geographic area the Ritchies propose to cover is enormous. So is the cultural area. One can find a world of difference between the streets of Auckland and the isolated Marquesan valley, and even between an atoll of Tokelau of Tuvalu and a village on Savai'i. Yet, and the authors emphasize it repeatedly, there are strong similarities in the general socialization patterns everywhere in Polynesia and Fiji. This homogeneity is stressed by the set-up of the book itself. The first and most important parts of the book (Chapters 1-10) go through each stage of the process of growing up, from birth to young adulthood. The scenario will be familiar to every islander, or even to any reader of Mead. Born in an extremely warm, protective and loving environment, which surrounds it through infancy, the child is then led towards independence from the adult world at an early age, a process that was insightfully called "desatellization" by Ausubel (1977: 124-5). From this moment on, most of the socializing input comes from the peer group; this pattern will go on till adulthood is reached (the entering of adolescence being a very unobtrusive event) and will have an impact on the cultural attitudes towards such things as the meaning of achievement and sex roles.

However well-developed the overall argument is, a few points lack a bit of clarity. One such example is what happens at the stage when the young child is to shift his or her dependency and security needs from the parental figures onto the peer group. The Ritchies do not agree with certain authors who state that the child goes through a process of rejection on the part of the adults; this interpretation, they state, is culturally biased. Indeed, the Polynesian situation does not exhibit the characteristics of real rejection as one finds, for instance, in Belauan society (Barnett 1960: 6). Nor are the usual after effects of such a rejection characteristic of Polynesian cultures. What is then an alternative way of looking at the process Polynesian children go through? "Polynesian adults are not reclusive—merely firm," the Ritchies propose (p. 53). This, however, is very unenlightening.

A more precise way of looking at early independence would be to posit it not triggered by rejection on the part of the adults, but by avoidance of adult presence on the part of the child. The child, at the appropriate age, will start avoiding the adult because the latter has gradually become more demanding, less flexible and certainly less enslaved to every one of the child's whims. The motivations for desatellization therefore do not stem directly from the adult, but from the child, and is therefore not as traumatic as one would expect, although temper tantrums and hunger

for a lost attention are far from being unknown in that age group (see Gerber 1975: 71-4 and Besnier 1979: 17). Secondly, this avoidance pattern carries right through into adulthood. One avoids getting oneself into a demanding or stressful situation. Keesing and Keesing (1956-79) give us the example of a young Samoan man asked to join a chief who could not swallow his food, and Ritchie and Ritchie report another in the context of schooling: "you withdraw from, you isolate yourself from, that which causes the failure" (p. 126).

One discussion the Ritchies develop very successfully concerns achievement goals in the Polynesian cultural context (Chapter 7). Indeed, numerous Western observers, educators, foreign aid officers and expatriates have been heard to deplore what they saw as a lack of motivation among Polynesians: "a lack of initiative and of personal dynamic on the learner's part is found throughout the Gilbert and Ellice Islands, with young and old alike" (Green 1974: 17). Although it will come as nothing new to most theoreticians, the context in which the achievement motivations have to be measured is invariably forgotten in those statements. At the level of the village, of the island or of the kin group, competition and achievement goals can be tremendous in Polynesia and motivate groups and sometimes individuals to undertake great tasks. One thinks of fish drives in atoll environments like Tuvalu, in which the competition can be ferocious, or, of women clearing whole villages of every bit of dirt in Tonga. On the other hand, there is a little ambition, understandably, to "succeed" in a Western sense, as such a success is invariably individualistic (as opposed to the Polynesian preference for group achievement), materialistic (which is of lesser relevance in a Polynesian context) and defined within a context that is foreign to Polynesia.

In the latter chapter of the volume, the problems associated with urbanization, migration, schooling, and cultural contacts are discussed. The excellent remarks made in these seem to concern mostly Polynesians in a Westernized environment. Hawaiians, urban Maoris and immigrant islanders will find their problems well discussed in these chapters, but on the whole they will have little immediate relevance to the outer-island Fijian, the Tuvaluan or the Tuamotuan, to whom pre-school and bilingual education do not mean much (at least for the time being). So, while the authors painstakingly try to cover the whole Polynesian area in their remarks, it is nevertheless obvious that the emphasis is on urbanized or semi-urbanized Polynesia, which is understandable given the research background of the authors.

One problem that would have deserved more attention is the language problem in education and in cross-cultural contacts. It does get mentioned

briefly on several occasions, but is never fully discussed. Basically, there seem to be two kinds of problems in the Polynesian area. One found in the more Westernized communities like Hawaii and New Zealand is created by the loss of the Polynesians' own register and the acquisition of a non-standard register of the dominant language (English), which stigmatize the speakers as sub-standard members of the dominant society. The other kind of problem is more likely to be found in more traditionalistic areas, such as the outer islands of many nations of the Pacific. There, the lack of exposure to the *lingua franca* of the country (English or French) limits the degree of fluency which can be attained by school children. As the whole educational system is based on this language it hinders their educational achievements. The effect of both situations can be devastating, not only on the practical side but also on the cultural and moral sides and on the individual's self-esteem. Bilingual education programs and, before all, recognition of the nature of the problems by the concerned authorities, certainly help a great deal in remedying them. But the root of the problem seems to be deeply nested in cultural attitudes both on the part of the dominant culture, if there is one, and of the Polynesians. No solution can, therefore, be expected to have magic results.

Perhaps the best aspect of the Ritchies' book is that the reader can get through it a good cross-cultural idea of what socialization is. Polynesian socialization is successfully put into a broader context of "growing up anywhere" without, on the other hand, falling into theorization. The Ritchies subtly define the accepted universals, pointing out those that do not apply to Polynesia (p. 155 for instance) and reinforcing those that do, thus building up an overview of what socialization is.

In conclusion, *Growing up in Polynesia* will never become another *Coming of Age in Samoa* or *We, the Tikopia* because its aims are very different. It is likely, however, to be one of the few books of its kind to secure a place on the Polynesian family bookshelf or in the school teacher's reference library. In that, it may be a much more valuable contribution to the study of developmental psychology in the Pacific than many of the volumes in the scholar's library. It is hoped that, following the Ritchies' example and the pace set by organizations like the Pacific Islanders' Educational Resource centre in New Zealand (Ioane et al. 1977), more materials of this kind will be developed in the future.

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Nicholas Besnier
United States Peace Corp
Suva, Fiji

Geoffrey Sherington. *Australia's Immigrants 1788-1978*. Sydney: George Allen and Unwin, 1980.

Under the general editorship of Dr. Heather Radi of Sydney University, the publishing company of George Allen and Unwin have produced a series of books each dealing with a particular theme in Australian history. Like its accompanying volumes, Sherington's *Australia's Immigrants 1788-1978* would seem to be aimed for the market of the upper secondary school or introductory tertiary level student. As such, it contains many of the deficiencies of the textbook. Most notably, it relies solely upon secondary sources, and, for the most part, the usual titles with which any

undergraduate student in Australian history should already be familiar. Consequently, there is no feeling of discovery of hitherto forgotten primary sources to give the narrative freshness and vigor. Rather, Sherington's interpretation is bland and unimaginative, written in stolid and phlegmatic style. It can be contrasted with Professor Geoffrey Bolton's *Spoils and the Spoilers*, another in the general series, which is a lively and fascinating account of the transformation of the Australian environment since white occupation in 1788.

Certainly, reading Sherington's book, it could be assumed that Australia was a vast unoccupied desolate continent before a British penal settlement was established in New South Wales in January 1788. Clearly, this total disregard for the presence of the 300,000 Aborigines for at least 40,000 years links Sherington's interpretation very unambiguously with the dominant Whig tradition of Australian historiography. This pervasive tradition stresses social harmony, and Australia's destiny is portrayed as an ever-expanding materialistic paradise where calm, reasonable, liberal institutions regulate social, political and economic relations. The overriding preoccupation of late colonial Australia was the implementation of a white Australia policy. Sherington mentions in passing that the Chinese returned to the Victorian goldfields of the 1850s, but neglects to analyze the intense racial conflict that their presence engendered, which was reminiscent of the California experience. Again, he casually refers to the Melanesians in the sugar industry in Queensland but does not even alert the reader to the salient fact that Queensland possessed a classical plantation system like Louisiana.

Sherington's immigrants would mostly seem to have ended up winners—even the convicts, coming from an urban slum of a rapidly industrialising England, improved in the colonies. He gives a quick biography of Michael Robinson, a graduate of Oxford, and of Simeon Lord, who became a wealthy merchant. Such men were not typical of transportees to the Australian colonies. This tendency to laud the successful is repeated over and over. When speaking of the period from the 1850s to 1880, when much of Australia was transformed from brutal frontier environments into large, complex, urban and semi-industrialised towns, Sherington refers to James Munro, a printer who arrived in Melbourne in 1858 and became Premier of Victoria in 1890. Again, when writing of European immigration, Nicholas Laurantos, who began life as a Greek peasant, worked in fruit shops in NSW and ended his career receiving a knighthood and endowing Sydney University with a Chair in Modern Greek, is hardly a usual story. Undoubtedly, many migrants have raised their economic security by coming to Australia, especially in the post-war

boom. Sherington does point out that many migrants, because of the language difficulties and the lack of recognition of their previous technical training, are forced to accept low-paid factory jobs. Rather, it is this aspect of migrant experience which should be stressed. Again, when discussing the emphasis upon post-war migration by successive Labor and Liberal governments, Sherington does not place it within its historical context. Always fearing invasion by the "Yellow Peril," as the Chinese were termed in the nineteenth century, these fears were intensified after the war in the Pacific from 1941 to 1945. The slogan, "populate or perish" reflected deep-seated anxieties in the Australian community. Neither does Sherington make it clear that southern and eastern Europeans were reluctantly accepted when insufficient Britons and northern Europeans were forthcoming. Australia has always been and still is an intensely racist and xenophobic society fearing all outsiders, relegating many of the survivors of the brutal frontier and their descendants upon reserves which operate as Australia's own form of Apartheid, and until recently, maintaining the continent as a bastion of white settlement. Clearly this crucial, if unpleasant theme, needs to be explored if we are to understand fully and without reservation the true importance of Australian immigration policy.

Kay Saunders
Department of History
University of Queensland
Australia

The Ethnography of Malinowski: The Trobriand Islands 1915-18. Michael W. Young, Ed., Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979. Pp. ix, 324, illustrations, bibliography, index.

With the aim of offering a concise ethnography of the Trobriand Islanders in Malinowski's own words, Dr. Young has assembled selections from *Coral Gardens and their Magic*, *The Sexual Life of Savages*, and *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*. The selections are arranged in three parts—"Habitat and Economy," "Kinship, Marriage and Land," and "The Kula"—each of which is introduced with a list of page references to the original works and suggestions for further reading. The parts are further divided into numbered and titled sections. A number of Malinowski's photographs and maps and diagrams are also included.

Of most interest to anthropologists is Dr. Young's introduction in which he essays "an assessment of . . . [Malinowski's] . . . accomplishments

as an ethnographer," for it is useful to have the views of a first-rate ethnographer who has worked in the Massim region. If modern Trobrianders do not quarrel with Malinowski's facts and interpretations, but rather with his "colouring" (Father Baldwin, as quoted by Young), then it is with the preponderantly negative coloring or tone of Young's appraisal that I would take issue. Professor Goodale, in an earlier review (*American Ethnologist*, 1980, 7(4): 803-804), found the introduction too critical, and so do I. The man who invented ethnography's "microscope" and demonstrated its use deserves a more balanced treatment by a fellow ethnographer. Yet the introduction in which Young adds his own comments to well known criticisms of other anthropologists, does have an appealing verve.

Perhaps the principal question raised by this book is the audience which the editor and publisher had in mind. Clearly, students are the intended audience, but which ones? Graduate students, if they mean to learn their craft, will continue to peruse Malinowski's corpus, to read the essays in *Man and Culture* edited by Raymond Firth, the various intellectual portraits and reviews, and H. A. Powell's articles. Unfortunately for the graduate student reader Young has not only eliminated purple passages, didactic methodological discussions, and polemics which he thinks are tiresome and outdated, but also important interpretations. For example, Part three, "The Kula," which includes nearly one-fifth of *Argonauts*, omits key passages on the relationship of the Kula proper and utilitarian trade which have been the basis of dozens of textbook interpretations (largely incorrect, I believe). Nor are the polemics completely outdated. Malinowski inveighed against "social teleology" and then outlined the Kula teleology for subsequent generations of functionalist theorists from Robert Merton to Marvin Harris. Many of the polemical asides are of more interest to graduate students exploring the development of the discipline and current theorizing than the details of Trobriand life.

As for undergraduates, the majority of students who enroll in anthropology courses in American universities (at least the major universities) are not majoring in the field. For the purposes of survey courses, their needs, as well as those of most majors, will be served by such works as Hatch's chapter on Malinowski in *Theories of Man and Culture* and Service's on the Trobrianders in *Profiles in Ethnology*. This brings us to that dwindling breed, the professionally-oriented undergraduate majors. Perhaps Dr. Young's book is intended for them.

For non-professional readers, whoever they may be, Young has done a skillful editing job because in a little more than two hundred pages one is presented with a readable account of Trobriand life and society. Of

course it is difficult to say how much of the context and continuity is unconsciously provided by the reader already familiar with Malinowski's work.

Thomas G. Harding
University of California
Santa Barbara

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